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THE UNITY OF RELIGIONS

THE UNITY OF RELIGIONS

A Popular Discussion of Ancient and Modern Beliefs

EDITED BY

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AND

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Religions are many,—Religion is one.

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TO

THE BIBLE SCHOOL OF THE

MOUNT MORRIS BAPTIST CHURCH

WHICH STANDS FOR BREADTH OF THOUGHT, FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE, AND STRENGTH OF CHARACTER, THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED, IN THE HOPE THAT IT MAY HELP MEN AND WOMEN TO BE MORE TOLERANT, MORE GENEROUS, AND MORE KIND, AND THAT LOVE TO GOD AND LOVE TO MAN MAY BE THE BASIS OF EVERY TRUE FAITH

PREFACE

THE lectures contained in this volume were delivered on successive Sunday mornings, during the winter of 1909–10, before an adult class in Applied Christianity held in connection with the Bible School of the Mount Morris Baptist Church, New York City. They were arranged by Dr. J. Gardner Smith, Superintendent of the School, and though the hour, 10 o'clock, seemed rather early for Sunday morning, the attendance reached as high as 430, and never fell below 200. That the success of the course was due to the personnel of the lecturers, as well as to the subject treated, is unquestionably true. Still, it has been clearly demonstrated that men and women, both inside and outside the church, are vitally interested in religion to-day despite all indications to the contrary, if it but be presented along broad and sympathetic lines.

While the subject of comparative religions is not new, still it was the unanimous feeling of all who were privileged to attend this course, that these lectures, coming from prominent scholars and leaders in this special field of study, were worthy a wider hearing and were far too valuable to remain in manuscript form. Accordingly they are given to the public in this volume, in the hope that they may not only bring, in popular form, a clearer conception of the great religions of the world, but also that they may make more real the truth of the words: "Religions are many, — Religion is one."

Especial thanks are due to Dr. Smith, who collaborated with me in arranging the course; to each of the lecturers, who not only gave of his time and thought most cheerfully, but also has consented to the publication of his lecture; and to all whose presence at the lectures when delivered furnished inspiration to the speakers.

J. Herman Randall.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	The Beginnings of Religion	1
II.	Confucius and the Chinese	13
III.	Brahmanism	29
IV.	Buddhism: The Personality and Influence of its Founder	38
V.	Zoroaster and the Avesta	55
VI.	The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria.	70
VII.	Some Religious Beliefs of the Egyptians	83
VIII.	The Religion of the Early Teutons	100
IX.	The Religion of Ancient Greece	117
X.	The Religion of the Ancient Romans	134
XI.	Judaism: Its Principles and Its Hopes	156
XII.	Mohammed and Islam	166
XIII.	Christianity	201
XIV.	Roman Catholicism	214
XV.	Greek Orthodox Catholicity	234
XVI.	Protestantism	261
XVII.	Reform Judaism	275
XVIII.	The Religious Aspects of Socialism	288
XIX.	Science and Theology	303
XX.	The Symphony of Religions	320
XXI.	Religion in Education	336
XXII.	The Religion of the Future	348

I

THE BEGINNINGS OF RELIGION

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My subject in many respects is a difficult one, because the data are so incomplete and confused. When we speak of the beginnings of religion we are talking of the religion of primitive man, a term, which is used in a secondary sense. We really do not know anything of primitive man, for the earliest records, in the nature of the case, show men already in an advanced state of civilization, as in Egypt and Assyria, and there were countless generations, doubtless hundreds, perhaps thousands, before we reach those who were really primitive. We are obliged to use the term in this sense: The earliest men of any race of whom we have definite information. Primitive men are living in the world now, and yet before them there have been as many generations as before us; all contributing to the low state of culture which exists among them.

So much as to the meaning of primitive man, we now turn to his general conceptions, because we must know his thoughts as to the world before we can understand his thoughts as to God — for never is religion something separated from man's general culture; never is theology separated from his general views as to the world. Temporarily, perhaps, there may be a separation, but never for long; so that we must know a man's economic condition, his social condition and his scien-

tific ideas if we are to understand his religion. Let me repeat that in this fashion: We never can take man's religion and set it off by itself and consider it as a thing apart, because his religion is just himself functioning in a certain way.

Of primitive man, I am going to use the Japanese as my illustration, because I happen to know more about Japan than any other country, save my own, having studied it more thoroughly, and besides it is an admirable illustration. So that what I say will apply very largely to primitive man in all countries. For man is much the same the world over, the similarities being far more and greater than the divergencies; for he responds in the same fashion to his environment and the various influences which are about him.

Man was primitive in Japan not so very long ago. That is to say, thirteen or fourteen hundred years ago the Japanese were as savage and perhaps more so than were our Germanic ancestors in the forests of Europe. It is often mistakenly said that the Japanese civilization far antedates our own, but in fact it is, comparatively speaking, a modern civilization, not earlier in its beginning than the fifth century of our era. Then they were dwelling in the land which is still their own, but with almost nothing excepting the land by which we should recognize them as the same people. None of the elements of their present civilization were present. They lived in wretched huts, for the most part by the sides of bays and rivers. They had no art; they had no letters; they had no books, of course; and therefore, no education. Their numerals ran only to ten. They had no organized government. They had only the rude beginnings of agriculture. The great employments of the men were hunting and fishing and fighting. It was in the intervals of peace that they cultivated to some extent agriculture,

with rice as the chief crop. I might say, incidentally, that they had no tea. Think of Japan without tea, or silk or lacquer!

Their social organization was as rude as their economic organization. They were just emerging from that state of society that sociologists call the "horde," — that is, the almost unorganized state of society. Family relationships were not yet very firmly established, for the original organization of men is not that of the family but in unions for certain pursuits of a rude and elementary nature. In the family the mother was the chief factor and the father was often not even recognized. There could not be anything like a cult of ancestors in such a state, because ancestors were not known or remembered. A man might marry his half sister, or his own sister, in the early stage, and there was no thought of any impropriety in such a union. Government was as unorganized, naturally and necessarily, as the family. There was neither imperial line established, nor centralized government. The myth of the establishment of the imperial line, now set forth by the Japanese Government as if it were sober history, was scarcely known, if indeed it was known at all.

Thought was as crude as all else. Scarcely was there the beginning of anything that can be called science. The ideas about the world were narrow and confused. The world was just the little part of Japan which they knew. Over above it was heaven, and, as with all primitive people, not very far off. Once upon a time — "And once upon a time," is as good chronology as you can expect in any primitive records — heaven and earth were connected by a ladder, which was not precisely the ladder that Jacob saw, and the kind of beings who went up and down it were quite distinct from those he observed. The ladder still lies in Japan, in the Province

of Tongo. And one may see it for himself, if he likes, or has any doubt about the story. By measuring the ladder, that long curious series of rock formations, which suggested, of course, the myth, we find that heaven was about twenty-four thousand feet from the earth. Up and down this ladder from heaven to earth went gods, some having tails and some without tails; some being manlike and some beastlike. Heaven was a place like the earth, with its rivers and plains and hills, with freshets and streams. Heaven differed from earth only in position — being the place up above the sky, a little way off, corresponding almost point for point with this earth on which we dwell. Hades was a place below the earth. If one could find his way to there he would find there again just what he finds here on the earth — not a very bad place to go to. It has cottages and fields and men and women, and differs chiefly in its indistinctness from the earth on which we dwell. It is quite true that in some stories of Hades it is a disagreeable place of abode, and one would rather be excused from a prolonged residence.

So if any one can go down below the ocean, as indeed favored mortals have occasionally succeeded in doing, he shall find again land with cottages, and maidens and meadows and flowers and beasts and hunting just as here on earth. For, and this is the main point, there was no distinction in the minds of these people, between heaven, earth and Hades, but all are on the same pattern, and in like fashion there is no clear distinction concerning anything. That is a broad statement but it can be substantiated. All of our distinctions and classifications are wanting. For example, there is no real distinction between a man and a beast, or between a beast and an inanimate object, and therefore all kinds of stories are credible. It is entirely credible, for example, that a

god who was getting into difficulties with an enemy and had a woman whom he wanted to protect, picked her up and stuck her in his hair and she became a comb; then later on he took out this comb and it became a woman again. There is no autobiographical account of what she thought during the process. A man can turn into a dove and then turn back into a man. A tree under certain circumstances can speak. I will not detain you with illustrations. All primitive religion is full of such ideas, stories which show that our distinctions are not present, even such obvious classifications as animate and inanimate, as animal and man. These classifications grow up slowly with the development of knowledge. So, likewise, there was no critical inquiry into anything whatsoever. Man was still a child in his intellect and full of curiosity, always asking after the cause of things that happen to strike his imagination. He was like a child in this respect also, that, though prolific in questions he was not critical as to answers, for any will be satisfactory, especially a story. Primitive man asks many questions and is satisfied with the first answer that is given him. The answers are, for the most part, from obvious analogies when they are not stories. Thus man has always asked after the beginning of things. How could he help asking that? When he knows himself making beginnings, forming things and creating things, it is inevitable that his curiosity should lead him to ask, How are things around us made, the heavens and the earth and the world and all things? The Japanese answers to this question are interesting and instructive. It is true that the answers are not classified as I now classify them, but one must pick them out of a confused mass. There are four different answers to the question, "How are things formed?" First, the original gods sprouted out of chaos, just as when in the spring

from a great swamp come vegetable growths; in the same fashion originally heaven and earth and all things constituted a vast morass, and then out of this morass, whose surface was oil-like, there sprouted the original gods — surely a simple and natural explanation. Or, second: from the filth which one of the gods washed from his left eye when he had returned from an unpleasant encounter in Hades, there sprung gods innumerable, among others the sun. As when filth is put down upon the ground, pretty soon it swarms with insects, so did the gods originally swarm and were formed. Third, as certain worms cut in two form two worms, so, if you cut up a god in a certain way, you have two gods and that accounts for a lot more. Then, in the last place, gods are born just as men are born. Indeed, the world is born just as men are born. The mountains are literally the children of certain gods. They were born small and they have grown to their present size.

We see these are very primitive answers, and do not give us a Creator, because perhaps man as yet was not employed largely in making things. In China is a different answer, an account of a creator who cut things out of a great rock. They have pictures of him with a chisel doing the job.

Many other questions primitive man is certain to ask. Thus he notices queer objects and asks after the reasons for profiles in mountains, resemblances to animals in stones and trees; whence come traditions as to pillars, stones, trees, mountains, waterfalls and occurrences.

And once more, nothing perhaps is more prolific in causing primeval wisdom than words, especially coincidences in sound. Why is this place called Suga? Because, once upon a time a certain god passing through this place, finding himself weary, rested and said " Suga

Sugashii," that is, "I am refreshed." Therefore, the name of the place is called Suga until this day.

The ancient records are filled with these etymologies, containing no scientific truth, but giving the natural explanation suggested to minds struck by the oddity of names. So it is everywhere — a characteristic of every primitive race, that such folk etymologies indicate a stage of culture where man knows nothing about philology but is interested in the marvelous and his contentment is increased if he can find a story in explanation.

Thus a mass of stories grows up, some having to do with the phenomena of nature, some with the etymology of names and some with dimly remembered traditions of heroes and all mingled together in a confused mass. It is often difficult to decide whether a given myth has to do with some phenomena of nature or whether there are mingled in it elements of tradition concerning some hero. Besides, there are the beginnings of poetry, as in the earliest stratum of our Biblical history, snatches of war songs, love songs and scarcely any which are religious.

In the early records is the story of man's first attempts to control nature. He was highly excitable then and a prey to fear—far more so than in our modern times. Nor is this surprising, for he did not understand the forces of nature and was eager to control them.

How shall such a world as I have been describing, be controlled? How can man get on with it, so to speak? In various ways, I have space to refer only very briefly to two or three of them. Words excite wonder, they are not mere means of communication between folks. A word has mysterious power, when it has passed the lips it cannot be recalled. So with Abraham, when he had blessed one of his sons, he could not bless the other; one thing had gone forth from his lips, not to be recalled or

repeated. So in the Arabian Nights, the right word opens the door to the cave, but when inside of the cave if one has forgotten that word, there is no power that can take him out. Even so with ignorant men to-day, they fear an unknown tongue because they imagine a curse, and a curse is not merely an idle word, but a fact. All primitive men believe that nature is controlled by ritual; the man who knows the proper words and the proper acts controls nature and it obeys him. A name may be very dangerous, so the Jews would not pronounce the name of their God — because of a mysterious fear that he who uses the name calls down upon himself the jealous anger of God. So among all primitive people the name of a god is tabooed, that is, forbidden. No one can use it except the priests who know the magical formulæ, and who thus can control. An ordinary man using these magical formulæ, is like an ignorant man walking into a vast hall full of machinery, taking hold of the various levers and starting the machines. He lets forth powers that will very likely destroy him and those about him. A prayer in an unknown tongue is all the better, even though the priest does not know what he means, for thus the mystery is deepened, and the strange words, for their very strangeness, are all the more efficacious.

The second method of controlling nature, is by similarity. People whistle to raise the wind. Why? It is simply a bit of primitive religion or primitive science. To produce any effect you do something like it, and because the wind whistles, so if you whistle, pretty soon the wind will begin to whistle, a world-wide fancy, based on forms of universal reasoning.

Then primitive man thinks that the powers of nature can be controlled as men are controlled. How are men controlled? Partly by flattery. And so are the gods.

If you want to get something from them, you begin by telling them how great, how splendid, how altogether magnificent they are, how good they are to all who come and serve them, and then you humbly and respectfully present your petition. But sometimes the god does not answer by flattery. Then what shall be done? So sometimes men do not answer to flattery. Then perhaps they may be won by a gift. Of course, this is all of the past, here and in New York nobody thinks that he can get any favors from the government by gifts, but in primitive society in the long past, there were such things, and men supposed that they could get the favor of the gods also by gifts. Therefore, they offered sacrifices, the kind of things they liked themselves, — meat offerings and burnt offerings, rice, flesh and fruits. They began with small gifts, putting, so to speak, the smallest coins into the collection. If the god did not respond to these small contributions they increased the gift, and at last, in dire extremity, they would give in extravagance that which was dearest to their souls — their sons, their horses, their wives, and now and then one would offer himself as a sacrifice.

It was so much gift for so much gain, as in all primitive religions we find bargains. We remember that famous one which the great ancestor of the Jews made when he was starting off on his rather dubious journey, offering a tenth of all his gains, a pretty good bargain in the circumstances. But men have always been driving hard bargains with their gods: "I will give you so much if you will give me so much," with coaxing, and wheedling — and the bargain sometimes a failure after all.

But perhaps I may be asked where, in all that I have been saying, is religion? I have given the primitive beginnings of society, the beginnings of science both theoretical in man's restless curiosity and practical in

his attempt to control nature. But where in all this is religion?

If we ask for a theology, we surely shall not find it, that is in our sense. Among the Japanese, for example, there were none of our old stories, of the Deluge, of the primitive state of innocence, of Eden, of a Fall. It is strange indeed that all these things are wanting. None of the mythologies which belong to Greece, based on the splendid procession of Day and Night, or of movement of the sun across the sky, is there. Neither is there any theory, for example, as to God's justice or sense of sin, or notion that man needs to be forgiven; or that there is such relation between man and God as that of righteousness. Ethics is not prominent nor is there a trace of the spiritual life. The prayers of primitive man are not yearnings after spirituality; nor so much as requests for immortality or life after death. What then do men want? Why, the things of this life around about us, deliverance from sudden death, from illness, an abundant supply of fruits of the earth, the things which belong to the body. These are the things only that occupy their minds, and therefore they are the things which they seek from the gods.

What, then, is the central attribute of the gods in primitive religions? Simply this, that they are marvelous, that they are above us. Indeed, the Japanese word for god is Kami, that is, "above." One of their writers tells us very explicitly, that when we say that God is an exalted being, it does not mean ethically exalted; it does not mean that he is holy, or wise, but in general only that God is something above us. Now the characteristic that strikes man's mind, is power. So that the first attribute of God is power, not righteousness; let me repeat, not wisdom, but power. That constitutes the god. That which is more powerful than man, that which impresses

the imagination, is God; and it does not matter as to the race and nature of the being; a strange monster of the deep; a hero whose personal power compels his fellows to follow him; a smoking volcano; the quaking earth; the strange processes by which flowers and the fruits of the earth bring forth and come to their maturity; anything we please, so long as it is marvelous, and impresses the imagination; so long as it calls forth from man's soul feelings of wonder, of awe, of reverence, of independence. Man begins his religious career on earth by worshiping the objects of nature round about him. The river, the mountain, the strange rocks, the strange trees, the sun, the moon, the stars, the processes of nature — all these things and a thousand more are to him god, that which he is to adore.

It is perfectly apparent, therefore, why all of man's early thought has to do with what we may call religion. It is either all religious, or none of it religious, just as we please. It is precisely the exception, the marvel, the wonder, that impressing his imagination calls forth the questions of which I have given samples. And it is the marvelous, the wonderful, the exceptional, which calls forth his feelings of awe and reverence and dependence, calls forth his feelings of awe and reverence and defendence.

Therefore, primitive science constitutes primitive theology. The original is to be found in curiosity, while the origin of his religion is to be found in the feelings excited by that which is greater than himself, before which he humbles himself in reverence and in awe; together with his feelings of dependence upon this power. He always knows that he is dependent upon powers not himself. He is all too conscious perhaps of his weakness. He is filled with fears, and as the night comes on and he hears the beasts stirring in their lairs and feels

himself surrounded by dangers, he knows not what, he lifts up his hands and utters magic formulæ, his primitive expressions of dependence upon powers which he knows not, save that they are above him and near him.

Out of these feelings which constitute on the one side, at least, the highest of man's nature, have come all the religions of the world, and so we may ask ourselves a question, What is it that we reverence, and worship, what is it that we feel ourselves ultimately dependent upon? Answer and we shall describe our God; not the God of the catechism perhaps, but if with honesty any one will tell what it is that in his innermost soul he most profoundly worships, and then if he will tell us what it is in the ultimate emergencies of life on which he is dependent, he will give us his real theology and a description of his god. Doubtless we are removed from primitive man, who worships the power manifested in the marvels of nature, curious and undiscriminating. He worships mysterious power on which he feels himself dependent. This is his theology and the resultant feelings constitute his religion.

II

CONFUCIUS AND THE CHINESE

By Friederich Hirth, Ph.D.

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Confucius and the Chinese — the two names are inseparable. Neither of the two would be what it is without the other. For Confucius did not make the Chinese; he was made by them. Nor would the Chinese be what they are without him.

The spirit of Confucianism may be felt in what little we know about the most ancient history of China. The sage himself formed his ideas by the study of old traditions. A good deal of what he taught his nation, both by the lessons given to his disciples and by the example set in his conduct, was derived from traditions, partly in the shape of old records, handed down through generations among the Chinese themselves. To this fact his great influence on the spiritual development of the Chinese is probably due to a large extent. In any other part of the world his name would perhaps be forgotten, while the sages of the west would have shared the same fate, had they preached their morals in China.

Confucius was a contemporary of the Pythagorean school, though Pythagoras himself is supposed to have died about twenty-five years before the Chinese sage. With all the fundamental differences in the systems taught, the two philosophies present certain similarities in their views, chief among which is the great importance they both attached to the observance of ceremonies in

life and the purification of man's character. It looks as if certain ideas bringing about changes in social life and in the world of thought were hanging in the air. However widely different the philosophical systems presented to the people in the east and in the west may have been, there was a period before Pythagoras when Greek thinkers like Thales and Anaximander did their best to fathom the mysteries of nature. Similarly the appearance of Confucius was preceded by that of Lau-tzï, the metaphysical philosopher. Confucius was as much in contrast with Lau-tzï as Pythagoras was with his predecessors of the Ionian school. His school, though vigorously revived in the middle ages, may be said to have flourished from the master's own time down to Mencius, his last great interpreter during the Chóu period, who died in B.C. 289, just about the time when the Pythagorean school had seen its last days.

The life of Confucius can be told but very briefly in the space at my disposal. He was born in 551 B.C., as the son of an old man of seventy, a former soldier of strong physique. His home was near the present city of K'ü-fóu in the Shan-tung province. Here thousands of individuals bearing his family name K'ung, live in all possible stations of life, from their senior, the Duke of K'ung, down to those engaged in the lowest occupations such as wheelbarrow drivers, who all are able to trace their pedigree to the great sage — evidently the oldest acknowledged nobility of the world. The main feature of his later character showed itself in his early boyhood, when he was said to like nothing better than playing at the arrangement of sacrificial vessels and at postures of ceremony. He married early and was at first employed in clerical work, when, at the age of twenty, he began to teach what he had just studied, the traditions laid down in former generations. From these old traditions he

formed both his views on the world and his own character. He sketched out in his mind the standard of man as he ought to be, the "Superior Man," or *Kün-tzï*. This was not the autocratic superman of Nietzsche, the real enemy of all social order, but a well-behaved gentleman, who carefully avoids every outburst of genius, bowing at all times to the etiquette of good society. His ideas on what he considered the correct behavior in all situations of life were laid down partly in the conversations he held with his pupils and others, subsequently placed on record in works now forming part of the so-called Chinese classics, partly in the example of his own private life. In this respect his influence on Chinese social life has made itself felt ever since his time down, to the present day.

If the somewhat one-sided Confucianist accounts of the earliest development of Chinese social life, as represented in the classic called *Chóu-li* and describing the rites of the Chóu dynasty, can be trusted, the tendency to force all possible acts, acts of government as well as of private life, into rules and regulations had existed centuries before Confucius. The principle according to which man is to be bound down by etiquette in his doings was, therefore, not an innovation, but Confucius applied it to man as an individual in relation to himself and society. The success of his work as a teacher of his nation was, therefore, due not only to himself, but also to the fact that the Chinese world was much better prepared for his teachings than, for instance, the people of India or of Greece would have been at his time. There was, of course, no lack of men who would not fall in with his ideas; and these ideas probably did not conquer his contemporaries all at once, as they did gradually in the course of centuries.

As a young man Confucius is reported to have paid a

visit to the old philosopher Lau-tzï, who was living in the emperor's capital as keeper of the State archives. If this report is nothing more than a legend, as some critics believe, the hidden meaning of it may be that Tauism as represented in the person of its supposed founder, Lau-tzï, was known in China before Confucius, and that the adherents to the Tauist system did not approve of the Confucian ideas. But judging from the account of the anecdote, for which the historian Ssï-ma Ts'lér is responsible, Lau-tzï looked upon Confucius as an ambitious young man, who was on the wrong track altogether and he gave him a lesson amounting to a rebuff. The "superior man" of Confucius was full of his dignity, with all his ceremonial; Lau-tzï has an entirely different idea on the subject, and the reply he is supposed to have given Confucius reveals a peculiarity of character which I have noticed frequently in China with men of merit in high positions, that modesty we find only with really superior men who need not trouble their heads about the recognition of the world. Lau-tzï in that interview appears as the wiser man. Among other remarks he is made to say: "I have heard that a prudent merchant will keep his valuables concealed in the depth of his storehouses as though he had none to show; similarly the superior man may be full of merit and yet his appearance may be plain and simple. Discard withal haughtiness and these many desires, with outward appearances and licentious schemes. These are all of no advantage to you."

The warning, if it was ever given, had no effect on Confucius, although it hit the nail on the head in revealing the really weak point in Confucius' philosophy of life. There was, and there is even at the present day, a great deal too much of those outward appearances in the private life of the Chinese. Lau-tzï, after a life

spent in deep thought, had become indifferent to the formalities of his surroundings. Confucius was the very reverse. He took the greatest interest in the life of his fellow-creatures. To reform social life in China was the main ambition of his work and to his influence must be ascribed a great deal of what is characteristic in the social habits of his people. In this respect Confucius probably has no equal in history, unless it be Christ.

After his visit to Lau-tzï, Confucius returned to his native state in the present Shan-tung. Political troubles then caused his Duke in 517 B.C. to leave the country and live in the flourishing state of Ts'i in North Shantung, and Confucius followed him there. His ambition was to become chief adviser to the duke of that country, but although he was held in the highest esteem by the ruler, the officials of the country managed to prevent his taking any active part in the government. The sage, therefore, returned to Lu, his native state, where he kept aloof from all politics. After fifteen years spent in literary work, he was appointed magistrate in Chung-tu, one of the districts in his country. Here he had at last the much coveted opportunity to put his social theories to a practical test. He now tried by all means to make the people under his jurisdiction good and virtuous. All the pedantry which, even to this day, governs the life of educated Chinese was now tried by way of experiment on the people of Chung-tu. Confucius' government became one of interference with all individual liberty. Every act of life had its prescribed ceremonial, even the food which the different classes of people were allowed to eat was regulated; males and females were kept apart from each other in the streets. Such a system enforced by the mayor of New York would be sure to result in revolution; but the Confucian chron-

iclers maintain that the good behavior of the people of Chung-tu soon became notorious all over China and that the princes of neighboring states were anxious to imitate the magistrate's style of administration. His own prince rewarded him by his promotion to the post of Minister of Justice. In this position he gave further evidence of his administrative talent. If all these accounts are not pure inventions manufactured by his admirers, Confucius must have had something in his character which made the people pliable in his hands. If they did not revolt, this may be due to the high estimation in which he was held on account of his absolute honesty and purity of life. His moral code was of the highest standard, and while exacting some approach to that standard from others, he did not shrink from cutting into his own flesh. This was the case when his duke was led by the intrigues of a neighboring court to accept the gift of a harem of eighty beauties and a hundred and twenty fine horses. Confucius was so disgusted by this, that he withdrew from the court into private life again. He now wandered about for fourteen years.

His first exile led him to a state whose duke tried to attach him to his court on a handsome salary. The duke was not all that might be desired from a moral point of view, his consort being a woman of bad reputation, Confucius never liked to meet her, but had to submit to the court etiquette. When once the duke invited him for a drive through the streets, the duke with his paramour drove in front, followed by a carriage containing the sage. Seeing this, the crowd made fun of the cortège by coining the saying, "Lust in front and virtue behind." Confucius could not stand these associations and left the country, knocking in vain at the doors of powerful princes, none of whom seemed to be willing to give him the desired high position. The personal

favor of princes is of little use to him who is not able to meet the intrigues of their surroundings. This was the case when Confucius had almost pursuaded one of the most powerful kings of the Chinese Confederation to fall in with his reforms. The king's prime minister warned the king against the sage and his disciples as a set of men who might some day become a danger to the king's own government. All his attempts to gain the ear of those who might be instrumental in carrying out his educational plans had failed and where he was well received, his obstinacy in refusing every compromise with that vicious world which he could not change spoiled the best chances he might have had. At the age of sixty-eight he was recalled to his native state. There he lived another five years in retirement, when he died in 479 B.C., mourned by his disciples, who had been dearer to him than even his own family. The names of his disciples such as Tzï-lu, Tzï-kung and others are constantly mentioned in the classics known as the "Four Books," as those of his interlocutors to whom he explained his views. One of them, by name Tsöng Ts'an, who outlived him many years, was the reputed author of the "Canon of Filial Piety," (Hiau-king.) He had become the prototype of millions of dutiful sons, for he himself was a model of good behavior in this respect. The idol he worshiped beyond anything was his mother. Once he refused to enter a village because its name, "Shöng-mu," meaning, "better than a mother," displeased him, and he divorced his wife because she had served his mother an unsavory dish. Filial love has ever since been considered one of the very highest features in man's character. Confucius himself had been a model from his point of view in the affection shown in the mourning for his mother, whom he lost at the age of twenty-three. He is said to have been not half so much

attached to his son or even his wife. Love, coupled with implicit obedience to one's parents has been with some noble-minded Chinese more than a mere virtue and is cherished almost with the ardor of a passion; witness the celebrated example of the late Emperor Kwang-sü, who sacrificed the entire happiness of his life to what he considered his duty towards his parent, in this case his foster-mother, the empress dowager. Tsong Ts'an, to whom nothing in this world could be "better than a mother," would have said, "he is right." The respect shown by a grown up son to his aged mother has to make up for many humiliations woman has to suffer from Chinese social prejudices; who as a daughter has to obey her parents, as a wife her husband and as a widow her son. Dutiful sons, of which kind there are many in China, know how to make this last one of the "Three Obediences" of woman pleasant.

The influence Confucius exercised on his nation may be considered from a threefold point of view. He was in the first instance connected with a number of those old works known as the "Five Canons," which he did not write, but recommended, collected and edited; then his views have been preserved in the shape of conversations with his disciples, forming the substance of the so-called "Four Books;" and finally there is the tradition, perhaps not absolutely reliable, but characteristic of his reputed manner, the gossip which surrounds a great man and which has in reality little to do with the greatness of his mind.

The "Five Canons," and the "Four Books," now constitute the works called by the late Professor Legge, their translator and commentator, the Chinese classics. Among the Canons, the oldest is the "Canon of Changes," in Chinese, I-king. It represents a system of occultism based on the Chinese natural philosophy, according to

which all things existing must be either male or female. Those two principles are said to have been symbolized by continuous and broken lines, the former representing the male, the latter the female principle. In its simplest combination three of these lines with the possible permutations yield eight diagrams, the so-called Pa-kua, the invention of which is ascribed to the fabulous emperor Fu-hi, whose lifetime the Chinese place in the twenty-ninth century B.C. Each of these diagrams has its distinct meaning. By doubling the three lines up to six, the number of diagrams becomes sixty-four, each of which again represents certain mystic associations based on the preponderance and relative positions of male or female lines contained in it. Under the supposed authorship of Wön-wang, the father of the first emperor of the Chóu dynasty, the explanation and commentary grew into a book known as the "Canon of Changes," representing a complicated system of geometric science, highly valued by the Chinese, because it was recommended by Confucius himself, but with very little attraction for European taste. The book is of importance on account of its high antiquity and the great influence it has at all times had on public and private life in China as an instrument of augury.

The second Canon is the Shu-king, often called the "Book of History." It contains accounts of some of the earliest, probably legendary emperors, "model emperors," as we may call them, because they have been at all times held up as the acme of perfection in good government. Such were the emperors Yau, Shun and Yü. On the other hand certain bad rulers are represented in grossly exaggerated colors, and the history of China is brought down to the early part of the Chou dynasty. Professor Grabe may be right in calling the Shu-king

a "poetical production." Certainly it is the only account we possess of that early period.

In the "Canon of Odes," or Shï-king, we have one of the most important works of Chinese literature. It is a collection of folk-songs and ballads, edited by Confucius, which throws most valuable light on the cultured life of the Chinese in pre-Confucian times.

The "Canon of Rites," or Li-ki, is a collection of rules describing to the minutest detail, the ceremonial to be observed by a Chinese gentleman on all occasions of daily life.

The last canon is the so-called, "Spring and Autumn," in Chinese, Ch'un-ts'iu. It consists of the dry-as-dust annals of the State of Lu, of which Confucius was a native, and is supposed to have been compiled by the sage himself. To us it is not half as valuable as its commentary, the Tso-chuan, ascribed to one Tso-K'iu Ming, a copious extension of it; but it is one of the best historical accounts that could be found in any literature, covering the period *722* to 481 B.C.

These are the five works supposed to have been edited or written, by Confucius. The "Four Books" tell us much more about his own views. For, although not written by him, nor even by his immediate disciples, they contain, in the shape of accounts of conversations, the main substance of his teachings.

The most important of these is the work called Lun-yü, *i.e.* "Conversations," or "Discourses," or as Legge translates it somewhat freely, "Confucian Analects." It is supposed to have been written down a long time after Confucius' death by the followers of his disciples. The keynote of these discourses is what may be called the Chinese national virtue, filial love. However, the term usually so translated covers rather more than we would place under the Mosaic command to honor father and

mother. According to Confucius filial love is the basis of all that is good and proper in family life; and brotherly submission, the respect due to the senior by the junior is closely connected with it. Starting from the family discipline, Confucius compares to it the discipline of the nation. For the nation is like a family, though on a larger scale. The filial love of the people is shown in the obedience to the people's parents, the ruler and his government. For filial love, according to the sage's own definition, shows itself in obedience. The obedience due to a father from his child is also due to the sovereign from his subjects. Man in his relation to the world is considered from five points of view: (1) sovereign considered from five points of view: (1) sovereign and subject; (2) father and son; (3) husband and wife; (4) elder and younger brother, and (5) friend and friend. In each of these relations man has his duties, the proper discharge of which by all will insure good government and general peace and happiness. Loyalty towards one's government, parent, husband or wife, brother and friend, determines the character of the Kün-tzï, the superior, or ideal man.

The second and third of the "Four Books" are shorter treatises, namely, "The Great Learning," or Ta-hio, based on knowledge as a means of reforming society, and "The Doctrine of the Mean," or Chung-yung, the golden mean which the superior man is advised to follow in all his doings. He ought to do the right thing for its own sake, whether the world regards him or not.

The last, and perhaps the most important of the "Four Books," is the work known as "Mencius." Mencius is the Latinized name of the Chinese Möng-tzi, *i.e.* "The Philosopher Möng," just as the Chinese K'ung fu-tzi, i. e., the "Philosopher Kung," has been changed into Confucius. The work called "Mencius" is similar in style

to the Confucian Analects. It also consists of conversations, in which Mencius is the chief interlocutor. Mencius flourished nearly two hundred years after Confucius, his lifetime reaching from 372 to 289 B.C. One of the very few facts handed down about his life is his early education by the most excellent of mothers. "Möng-mu," the mother of Mencius, is as familiar a figure to the Chinese as the "Mother of the Gracchi" was to the people of Rome, and quite a number of anecdotes are current about her and the boy who was destined to gain such high fame. If Confucius found it hard to get his contemporaries to listen to his teachings, Mencius had to fight his way under still greater difficulties. Times had changed a good deal in the last two hundred years. From the works which happen to have been preserved to our days, we may conclude that the early Confucianists were scarcely at all troubled by the antagonism of other schools, unless such antagonism consisted in their treating adversaries with silence. Mencius arose in a world more distant than ever from the Confucian ideals. He lived in the period of Chinese history known as that of the "Contending States," when China was divided into numerous political factions and the different states made war against each other. Literature was then the exact counterpart of the political situation. The philosophers of the age took part in the general strife and applied their doctrines to practical state life. The instability which knew of no equilibrium among the contesting powers and which caused even conservative minds to become accustomed to the most unexpected changes in politics, was coupled with a hitherto unprecedented freedom of thought in the ranks of thinkers and writers. The most heretical views on state and private life were advanced and gained public adherence. Mencius, therefore, could not confine his work

to teaching, he had also to defend his views against the open and silent attacks of rival systems. In this respect he became a real tower of strength to Confucianism at his time.

Of the several philosophical systems created during the period of the Contending States, the one which was most opposed to the solid ethical character of the Confucian school was probably that utterly uncanonical philosophy of Yang Chu. He was a self-made man and had not studied old books like Confucius, nor did he trouble himself about rival systems; but his views on the world and human nature were so audacious as to attract attention with or without approval. Yang Chu was essentially a pessimist. He tries in the first instance to answer the question whether life is actually worth living. According to him it is not. A great part of man's life, he says, is spent either in a state of indifference, during infancy and extreme old age, or in sleep, and during many hours in the daytime, not counting the hours spent in pain and sickness, sorrow and bitterness. In a hundred years a man may live, there may remain ten years actually worth counting, but not even in them will be found an hour of smiling self-abandonment without the shadow of solicitude. Death awaits us all alike, whether we die at the age of ten or a hundred, and once man's bones are rotten it does not matter whether he was a great character, or a mean creature. We, therefore, have every reason to make the best of life while it lasts. To Yang Chu, nothing can come after death. Fame is nothing. The great men of the past, "celebrate them — they do not know it; reward them — they do not know it; their fame is no more to them than to the trunk of a tree or a clod of earth."

He pities the great heroes of antiquity who, "spent their lives in toil and worry," and thinks certain contempt-

ible creatures, who were pleasure-hunters all their lives, are to be envied, for they "never made themselves bitter by the thought of propriety and righteousness." Theirs was a happy life in spite of the evil fame that followed their death. For the reality of enjoyment is what no fame can give.

Yung Chu was an Epicurean in his way, but a great deal worse than Epicurus, who taught that our pleasure ought to be derived from virtue and justice. His philosophy was, of course, the very reverse of what Confucius taught. The forcible manner with which Yang Chu stated his argumentum ad hominem has no doubt made an impression on his contemporaries, and his philosophy of egotism may have temporarily thrown Confucian principles into the shade; but it stands to the credit of the Chinese nation that Yang Chu is now almost forgotten, whereas Confucius has rendered himself immortal among the best of his people. Yang Chu's great adversary was Mencius, whose good cause got the better of what threatened to be a danger to Confucian morals.

Mencius was also opposed to another sage, who from our point of view did not seem to deserve it. If Yang Chu could be called the philosopher of egotism, the man who taught the very opposite, Mo Ti, also known by his Latinized name Micius, was the philosopher of altruism. He held almost Christian views, inasmuch as to him mutual love was the cure for all evils in the world. Who knows what turn the ethical development of the Chinese would have taken, had not Mencius been such an uncompromising Confucianist!

The spread of Confucianist ideas is, of course, in the first instance due to this so-called Chinese classical literature. But much of the master's influence on his people is due also to the example he set by his personal

character, the great features of which may be derived from the views he expressed in the conversations forming the subject of the "Four Books." The gossip among those who knew him has added numerous little peculiarities, accounts of which have been placed on record in one of the chapters of the "Analects." Here we learn how the great man behaved in all possible relations of life, such as his mode of dressing, his food, his behavior in the company of friends, etc. According to these accounts he must have been a man full of caprice, even from a Chinese point of view. Whatever he did in public was regulated to the minutest detail by ceremony. Although this was not a new idea in his time, there can be no doubt that his authority and example did much to perpetuate what he considered desirable social practices. Dr. Legge made a short abstract from this biographical record in which he says:

"In public, whether in the village, the temple, or the court, he was the man of rule and ceremony, but at home he was not formal. Yet, if not formal, he was particular. In bed even he did not forget himself; he did not lie like a corpse, and he did not speak. He required his sleeping dress to be half as long again as his body. If he happened to be sick and the prince came to visit him, he had his face to the east, caused his court robes to be put over him, and drew his girdle across them.

"He was nice in his diet, not disliking to have his rice dressed fine, nor to have his minced meat cut small. Anything at all 'gone' he would not touch. He must have his meat cut properly and to every kind its proper sauce; but he was not a great eater. It was only in wine that he laid down no limit to himself; but he did not allow himself to be confused by it. When the villagers were drinking together, on those who carried staves going out, he went out immediately after. There must always

be ginger at the table and when eating he did not converse. Although his food might be coarse rice and poor soup, he would offer a little of it in sacrifice, with a grave and respectful air.

"On occasion of a sudden clap of thunder or a violent wind, he would change countenance. He would do the same, and rise up, moreover, when he found himself a guest at a loaded board. At the sight of a person in mourning he would also change countenance, and if he happened to be in his carriage, he would bend forward with a respectful salutation. His general way in his carriage was not to turn his head round, nor talk hastily, nor point with his hands. He was charitable. When any of his friends died, if there were no relations who could be depended upon for the necessary offices he would say: 'I will bury him.'"

We have to take into consideration that these accounts were written not by Confucius himself, but by an admiring set of juniors. Those many whims, which, in the eyes of Europeans of the twentieth century, appear to be weaknesses, may lessen our respect for the sage's genius, but they will not diminish the esteem in which we must hold the spotless virtue of his life.

III

BRAHMANISM[1]

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Brahmanism, the most general term for the Aryan religion of India, is the faith which, originating in prehistoric times, was developed and taught by the Brahman priests, the spiritual guides of the ancient land of the Indus and Ganges. There a people is found that is distinctly religious, for one of the most striking characteristics of the Oriental, patent at once to every student and traveler, is his intense religious fervor and religious spirit.

This term, Brahmanism, in its broadest sense—as we must employ it here—includes all the religions of India from the earliest times of Vedism, or the religion of the Vedas, through Brahmanism proper, where it was reduced under priestly functions to a mere schematic form, with the changes that came up after the rise of Buddhism and Jainism, down to the newer form of Hinduism, and so to the present time, when Brahman priests still give a leading and guiding hand in India's spiritual welfare.

The religion of the Vedas, as representing Vedism, is presented to us in the sacred hymns of the Four Vedas, that were chanted in early times by the priests or seers. They were hymns glorifying and personifying the powers of nature; giving thanks, giving adoration, and giving prayer to those personified forces. It is interesting to see this form of nature-worship, probably in its earliest and

[1] This lecture is printed from a stenographic record during the absence of the author on a journey to Persia and Central Asia.

crudest form a mere recognition of the forces revealed by nature, and to note that by degrees the ancient Hindus seem to have looked up from Nature unto Nature's God. Some of the hymns, to be sure, are merely anthropomorphic — perhaps better, humanistic — in their way and not distinctly spiritual; but others had attained a lofty height of true religion and true poetry. Such, for example, is the presentation of Agni, the Fire, the flaming mediator and heavenly messenger who carries the oblation from earth beneath to the gods above. It was thus that the Vedic bards, in anthropomorphic fashion, naturally prayed to Agni to lift their prayers, the Priest Divine of the sacrifice, the priest of many gifts bestowed; and it is thus that we read in one of their hymns:

> "Agni, by bards of old as now
> Forever worthy to be praised,
> May he bring hither all the gods.
> Through Agni wealth may each attain,
> And weal likewise, day after day,
> Far-famed and rich in many sons."

Similar is the spirit that breathes through many of the hymns to Indra, the god of storm, since by his thunderbolt he rent the clouds which had been pent up by a monstrous dragon, who had wrapped himself around them and had thus held back the rain. The land was dying from thirst, and as the reviving water came down from the sky, the priests naturally lifted up their hearts again in hymns, chanting praises of Indra, the Divine One, who had freed the imprisoned clouds from their confinement. But these are not spiritual hymns, especially as Indra is described as taking large drafts of intoxicating Soma before the battle of the elements begins. And yet there is real spirituality in the Vedas, as perhaps in some of the hymns to the Dawn, that magnificent radiance

of glorious light in the east, which is nowhere more glorious than in Northern India.

For the student of religion, however, possibly the highest point is reached in the hymns addressed to Varuna, the personification of the sky and the divinity who, from his supernal realm, rules over all the world by virtue of his omniscience and omnipresence, if not of his omnipotence. But though these hymns are the most transcendental and the most sublime in their ethics and their religious spirit, Varuna never touched the Hindu heart of Vedic times as did Indra. And yet, since for us there is more of the spiritual uplift, if I may call it so, in the Varuna hymns than elsewhere, I cannot refrain from quoting one of the most characteristic of the songs in his honor, taken from the Rig-Veda:

"Howe'er we, who thy people are,
O Varuna, thou shining god,
Thy order injure, day by day,
Yet give thou us not unto death,
Nor to the blow of angry (foe),
Nor to the wrath of (foe) incensed.
By means of song, O Varuna,
Thy mind for mercy we release,
As charioteer a fast-bound steed.

('Tis Varuna) who knows the track
Of birds that fly within the air,
And knows the ships upon the flood;
Knows, too, the (god) of order firm,
The twelve months with their progeny,
And e'en which month is later born;
Knows, too, the pathway of the wind,
The wide, the high, the mighty wind,
And knows who sit above the wind.

Bearing a garment all of gold,
In jewels clothed is Varuna,
And round about him sit his spies.
A god whom harmers may not harm,
Nor cheaters cheat among the folk,

Nor any plotters plot against;
Who for himself 'mid (other) men
Glory unequaled gained, and gains
(Such glory) also 'mid ourselves.

Far go my thoughts (to him), as go
The eager cows that meadows seek,
Desiring (him), the wide-eyed (god).

And I behold the wide-eyed (god)!
I see his chariot on the earth;
My song with joy he hath received.
Hear this my call, O Varuna,
Be merciful to me to-day;
For thee, desiring help, I yearn."

Or, to choose another illustration, one of the hymns of the fourth collection, the Atharva-Veda, sets forth Varuna's omnipresence in words of more than usual majesty and dignity:

"Yes, all this earth King Varuna possesses,
His the remotest ends of yon broad heaven;
And both the seas in Varuna lie hidden,
E'en though the smallest water-drop contains him."

Or again:

"Although I climbed the farthest heaven, fleeing,
I should not there escape the monarch's power;
From heaven his spies descending hasten hither,
With all their thousand eyes the world surveying."

Then there is this prayer for the forgiveness of sins:

"If we to any dear and loved companion
Have evil done, to brother or to neighbor,
To our own countryman or to a stranger,
That sin do thou, O Varuna, forgive us.

Forgive the wrongs committed by our fathers;
What we ourselves have sinned, in mercy pardon;
My own misdeeds do thou, O god, take from me,
And for another's sin let me not suffer."

Of course, the number of hymns of this kind is not large. Of the thousands that there are in the Veda, only a small part approach the tone of those I have just quoted. Sometimes, however, we see, perhaps in the later hymns, the beginning of Indian speculation, which, as early as the first or second millennium B. C., sought to behold the God behind and above the gods. It was from this nascent philosophy, destined later to develop into the magnificently pantheistic Upanishads, that there came one of the great cosmogonic hymns of the Rig-Veda, of which I have prepared the following version:

"Nor aught nor aught existed; yon bright sky
Was not, nor heaven's broad woof ourstretched above.
What covered all? What sheltered? What concealed?
Was it the waters' fathomless abyss?
There was no death, hence was there naught immortal;
There was no light of night, no light of day;
Only the One breathed breathless in itself;
Other than it hath nothing since e'er been.
Darkness there was, and all at first was veiled
In gloom profound, an ocean without light;
The germ, that still lay covered in the husk
Burst forth, one nature from the fervent heat.
Then first came Love upon it, the new germ
Of mind, as poets in their hearts discerned,
Pondering this bond between created things
And uncreated. Came this ray from earth,
Piercing and all-pervading, or from heaven?
Then seeds were sown, and Power and Will above.
Who knows the secret? Who proclaimed it here,
Whence, whence this manifold creation sprang?
He from whom all this great creation came,
Whether his will created or was mute,
The most high Seer that is in highest heaven,
He knows it—or perchance e'en He knows not."

More and more there was developed this concept of the All-creative, of whom the whole world is but a part. One

can see it throughout the second stage of Brahmanism proper, despite its evolution of a ritual and ceremonial which became so great that it strangled religious faith. There was almost a pall of darkness through priestcraft in the land, yet out of the element came speculation again in another form, partly in Buddhism and partly in Jainism. These, however, were not Brahmanism or Hinduism; for Brahmanism went on unchanged, despite this protestant movement that ran parallel with the steady continuation of Brahmanism, Hinduism, and Vedism all along the line, disappearing, indeed, for a time, only to emerge with the pantheistic concept that there is nothing but soul, that the individual soul is simply a part of the All-soul and utimately returns again to the Infinite, of which it is, so to speak, merely an emanation.

This is the point of view that we find illustrated so well in one of the Upanishads, which tells how a teacher, who sought to impart to his pupil, by way of practical parable, this all-pervading idea of the divine spirit of which man is a part, gave the youth this command: "Place this salt in water, and then wait on me in the morning." The pupil did as he was directed, whereupon his teacher said: "Bring me the salt which you placed in the water last night." The pupil, looking for it, found it not, because it was dissolved. Then the teacher said. "Taste it from the surface of the water. How is it?" "Salt," said the pupil. "Taste it from the middle." "Salt," was the reply. "Taste it from the bottom. How is it?" "Salt," answered the pupil. Then the teacher said: "Throw it away and wait on me," and the pupil did so. Thereupon, by pointing out that the salt exists forever, even though the eye may not perceive it, the teacher showed what the lesson really meant. "Here also in this body, though perhaps you may not perceive it, is the True, the Absolute, the Essence of Being. There it is, and that Subtle Es-

sence is all that truly exists. That is the true. That is the Self. That art thou!"

If we seek to trace the development of this notion through later times, we will find it, for example, in the story of Nachiketas, who speaks to his father, after the latter has offered sacrifice and, in his search for life eternal, given away all that he has, even to himself, asking: "To whom, then, wilt thou give me?" The father, perhaps unsettled and angry, says, "I give thee to Yama," which means "I give thee to hell." The boy then goes to Yama, or Death; but since Death was away at the moment and so was not at home to receive him with respect when he came, the dread deity asked pardon because his guest was not properly welcomed. Thereupon Nachiketas asked secrets from Yama, and they discoursed at length on the question of the life hereafter. In this legend, as in so much of India's speculative thought, the concept of the Atman, or World-soul, comes clearly to the fore. The Atman is not born; it does not die. It sprang from nothing; nothing sprang from it. It is the Unborn, the Constant, the Everlasting, the Ancient. It is not killed, though the body is killed. As Yama says in his discourse: "If the killer thinks that he kills, if the killed thinks that he is killed, they do not understand; for this one does not kill, nor is that one killed. This creature Self, smaller than the small and greater than the great, is in secret hidden." And yet, "a man who is free from all desires sees the majesty of Self by the grace of the Divine One."

Take it up in the lines of Emerson on Brahma, which brings together better than almost anything else the latter idea of the religious doctrines of Brahmanism:

> "If the red slayer think he slays,
> Or if the slain think he is slain,
> They know not well the subtle ways
> I keep, and pass, and turn again.

Far or forgot to me is near,
Shadow or sunlight are the same,
The vanished gods to me appear,
And one to me are shame and fame.

They reckon ill who leave me out;
When me they fly, I am the wings;
I am the doubter and the doubt,
And I the hymn the Brahmin sings.

The strong gods pine for my abode,
And pine in vain the sacred Seven;
But thou, meek lover of the good!
Find me, and turn thy back on heaven."

This is true, in like manner, in the later developments of Hinduism through Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva—Brahma, the divine spirit still; Vishnu, the Preserver; and Shiva, the Destroyer—each of whom is believed by his special worshipers to permeate the universe; though in the later period there is a marked tendency toward monotheism, especially in recent times. Some of the movements in India undoubtedly show Influence from the West, but throughout all Hindu thought runs the doctrine of Karma, or the belief that the deeds done in one incarnation condition the next earthly existence. And there is much logic in this idea of action and its effect, or, in other words, of cause and effect, which are so closely associated in the Hindu doctrine of reincarnation, or the return of the individual soul into the world from the realms beyond. But with all this there came a change over the Indian spirit; for the tendency was toward quietism rather than toward active life and the interests that had marked the earlier period. In the heated plains of the Ganges region, with their effect on the Oriental spirit of those who came into Hindustan from the north, the tone of the invading Aryans is generally thought to have been relaxed and to have become degenerate. Whatever may have been the

ultimate source of this concept of rebirth and the eager desire of Hindu thought to "throw away this existence and be a part of the Eternal," the same idea recurs in Buddhism, where it is expressed as a longing "to be free from the fetters that bind us" — a desire again most closely associated with the doctrine of Karma and its effects.

Perfectly logical, I insist again, is this belief as an explanation of pain and suffering and all earthly evil, since these woes are not due to chance, but to the sins of the past, which emerge again and again and again. Hence arises the conviction that quietism is best—a conviction which finds striking expression in the ideal life of the Hindu, who must pass through four stages in the course of his life: first, the constant study of the Vedas for twelve years, or twenty-four years, or, if necessary, for forty-eight years, until all the religious literature has been learned; then the stage of a householder, involving the important duty of begetting a son to carry on the ritual; next dwelling in the forest as a pious ascetic; and finally absolute quietism as a mendicant, not desiring life, not desiring death, but simply and solely awaiting his end.

These are typical elements, and they are the most characteristic features of the religious thought of the Hindu—metaphysical, spiritual, and deep in thought, yet with more of thought than of action, in accord with the temperamental quietism of India. But it always seems to me, as a student of those early religions, when I finish looking them over, that all who search into them must ever come back anew to the teachings of the Gentle Nazarene.

IV

BUDDHISM: THE PERSONALITY AND INFLUENCE OF ITS FOUNDER

By Justin Hartley Moore, A.M., Ph.D.

Author of the "Sayings of Buddha," a translation of the Iti-Vuttaka

More than once the traveler in the Orient has entered some lofty temple in Japan, or some immense conical hall in Burma, or perhaps even into some gilded palace in Thibet, and has seen in them all a statue of the same human form. And in looking at this placid effigy he experiences at the same time two distinct impressions. The statue at first always seems etenally young and new,—the calm, benevolent eyes seem to be gazing far away, with perfect understanding, into the cloudy future; and yet the inscrutable smile, the air of aloofness from humanity's joys and sorrows, the dreamlike trance of the statue's motionless face, make this sculptured being seem older than the ages.

And as are these likenesses of Gautama, the Buddha, so in truth is the religion which he founded. For Buddhism is a new religion in the sense that it came to the attention of Europe only two generations ago, and it is old in that Gautama lived and taught more than a millennium before Mohammed and five centuries before Jesus Christ.

The life of Gautama may be recounted in a few words. In the north central portion of Hindustan, in the kingdom of Kapilavastu, presumably in the year 560 B. C., there was born into the king's family a male child who bore the various names of Gautama, Siddartha and Sakyamuni.

As a boy he was serious and well behaved; his head was not turned by the possession of great wealth, neither was his disposition spoiled by the constant presence of flattering courtiers. At an early age he showed a strong inclination toward revery and reflection, and passed much time in meditation upon the deeper problems of life. His father, the king, fearing that such meditation might unfit the boy for his princely duties, arranged that he should constantly be surrounded by other youths of high family, so that Gautama might vie with them in noble sports and pastimes. The prince surpassed them all in grace, and power, and manly beauty.

His marriage to Yasodhara resulted in the birth of a little son. To the infant was given the name Rahula, a bond. By this name the father symbolized the strengthening of his attachment to worldly life, and the increased power of his earthly ties.

For several years Gautama lived in perfect harmony with his wife Yasodhara, in perfect contentment, until one day at the age of thirty he chanced for the first time to take a drive beyond the walls of the palace park. By the roadside he saw an old man, a sight never seen before. The prince went home in deep thought. On a day after, his charioteer again drove him beyond the palace gates, and this time he saw a second unaccustomed sight, namely, a diseased person. Twice again he drove forth, and beheld a dead body, and, lastly, a red-robed priest.

Gautama's wavering resolution now became crystallized: the three scourges of mankind, old age, disease and death, weighed down his soul by their hideous certainty, and the only remedy that beckoned to him was the solitary life of a wandering priest. So in the darkness of night he bade silent farewell to his sleeping wife and child and turned his back upon all that had been dear to him.

For six years he wandered in the forests and by the

desert places. He fasted. He tormented his body with all manner of privations and austerities. Such was the traditional existence of monks, such was the daily practice of every aspirant to holiness, so why should he live any different than they? So great became his self-inflicted tortures, and so keen his suffering, that many disciples flocked about him in admiration. "Surely," they thought, "surely such a man is more than human. Verily, his merit is boundless."

Yet one day Gautama saw a vision, in which a great truth flashed upon him, the truth that human suffering when self-inflicted was as vain, as useless as was human enjoyment. The truth that the soul can *not* be purified by mistreating the body. The truth that when the flesh is groaning with pain, the spirit is not capable of the proper kind of exaltation. And Gautama ceased his fasting and went forth and preached this new doctrine, which at first made him countless enemies.

Legend says that Mara, the devil, came and tempted him to renounce the mission of teacher which he had chosen, offering him precious gifts and increased worldly dominion. But Gautama did not cede.

A little later he came to a tree and sat down. And here a spell of meditation came upon him,—meditation more profound than any before in his life. After seven days he arose again. In his mind had come the most fundamental of all his later tenets that were to be proclaimed to the world of men. Ever afterward Gautama was called the Buddha, the Enlightened One, and the tree under which he sat was called the Bodhi tree, or Tree of Enlightenment, a tree which, by more than three hundred million Buddhists, to-day is looked upon as sacred, and which is regarded with the holy reverence that we give to the Cross at Calvary.

What was the doctrine which Buddha discovered there?

The Pratitya-samutpada, as it is called, or the Chain of Causation.

The discussion of this we shall postpone for a brief space until we have narrated the rest of his life.

Little by little the number of his followers increased; before long a rich land-owner made a gift of a park in whose cool shade a rest-house was built where men could come and listen to his teachings; and this example was rapidly followed by others. Rich Brahmans gave liberally of their means, and at length a chain of these monasteries was stretched across India, a chain to which link after link was added in succeeding years until it measured the largest continent.

Himself a noble in birth as well as in soul, Buddha was received sympathetically within the highest homes,—and yet he appealed also to the poor and lowly because he taught that all mankind is of one stuff, and in this doctrine the teacher was far as the poles asunder from the paralyzing spirit of caste which to this very day grips India in its iron clutch. The more ignorant of his followers he taught by means of parables and fairy stories,—tales of mythical animals and of folk-lore which were current long before his day, and which he refashioned to suit his moral purposes. These stories exist to-day, and are extremely interesting. In them we find more than one of the plots from which Aesop and La Fontaine got inspiration. They are called the Jatakas, or Birth Stories, and purport to be the adventures of Gautama in his countless past existences upon earth as man, or bird, or as beast. Others of his following, the living people of the time, were also identified with the various heroes of the same stories.

Buddha's other teachings, his more abstruse philosophical or ethical doctrines, addressed to the better educated of his hearers, and handed over to the élite for

safekeeping and promulgation, were embodied in other works of the sacred Buddhist canon, some of which may have actually been written down during his own life. The Ti-pitaka, or Three Baskets, as they are called, consist of many hundred octavo pages composing the Vinaya Pitaka, the Sutta Pitaka and the Abhidhamma Pitaka. Of these the first deals with the organization and regulation of the priesthood, and the third, probably much later in date, with the higher problems of metaphysics. But to the general student the second great division, the Sutta Pitaka, is of by far the greatest interest.

The Sutta Pitaka is divided into five *nikāyas,* and of these the fifth is in its turn composed of fifteen separate compilations of wide scope and wide variation of subject matter. We may cite merely a few of the titles. The Jatakas, or Birth Stories, in six goodly volumes, have already been mentioned. Of almost equal interest are the Udana, or Utterances of Buddha, — the Iti-vuttaka, or Sayings of Buddha, — the Theragatha, or Sayings of the Deacons, — the Buddhavamsa, a biography of Gautama, — the Petavatthu, a collection of legends of the dead.

Shorter than any of these in size, but far superior in beauty of treatment, is the Dhammapada, that gem of Buddhistic literature, sparkling in its setting of faultless style. So perfect in a way are some of the stanzas of this little book, that I am tempted to cite two or three of them to you.

"The man who is free from credulity but knows the uncreated, who has cut all ties, removed all temptations, he is the greatest of men."

"If a fool be associated with a wise man, even all his life, he will perceive the truth as little as a spoon perceives the taste of soup."

"What is the use of plaited hair, O Fool? What is the use of the raiment of goat skins? The outside they make clean, but within there is ravening."

"Let us live happily, then, not hating those who hate us. Among men who hate us, let us dwell free from hatred. And who always greets and constantly reveres the aged, four things will increase to him,—animal life, beauty, happiness and power."

Such were Buddha's teachings during the course of his long life. He lived a life of purity. He mingled with men. He was broad in sympathy, in kindness, in lack of prejudice. He did not disdain to offer words of advice and encouragement to scoundrel or to courtesan. He was, in the good meaning of the expression, a thorough man of the world. He partook of all innocent diversions and festivites. He met his death, toward the age of eighty, so the records say, from eating pork.

He never claimed to have been inspired by any divine being; he did not look upon himself as in any way divine; he never believed or taught that there was any such thing as God, the Creator and Preserver. He certainly did not intend that after his death his followers should worship his name. He never claimed to stand on any higher religious pedestal than any other men. He breathes no revenge for disobedience, no forgiveness for the penitent. No higher power ever whispered into his ear the secrets of eternity nor pointed out the hidden place of truth. Buddha never claimed to be a messenger from any Power who dwells above this world. And if he spoke as one having authority, it was an authority of experience merely, and in no wise due either to inspiration or personal divinity.

How is it, then, that from his philosophy there grew a religion? What is it that makes his name a living force to millions upon millions of men to-day? What is it that has carried this one feeble human voice echoing down the long halls of Time? What are the responsive chords in the Oriental nature which he touched and set vibrating? Here are questions easy to ask, but hard to

answer. We may say, that it was because of his reforms. But there have been many greater reformers. Or we may say his renown is due to his character although many men before and since have had characters as high. As an explanation probably more truthful than either of these, we are led to suppose that all of Buddha's influence upon men was due to the power of his love and his simplicity. He brought spirituality down out of the clouds. The useless patter of chants to tinsel detities,—the vain jabberings of sacrificial litanies he washed away. His own moral example was as a light shining upon the humblest, his precepts of righteousness wean the sinner from his crime,—his winning nature has left its imprint upon the ages. And in this life which, as the Buddhists believe, is naught but a single existence in a long series leading to the end of everything, Nirvana, the utter extinction of all things for evermore, Buddha stands as the guide who has fought the fight, who has himself risen higher and higher and nobler and nobler during his past lives. He is, as it were, humanity's elder brother, guiding its feeble steps in the way they should go. In all of History's long scroll there are few more striking examples of the power of a present personality.

Of the practical morality of Buddhism there is no especial need to speak; that Gautama would in his teachings show the gentleman's inborn repugnance to all that was low, degrading, dishonest, or impure in any way, was to be expected. A sincere Buddhist to-day is in his daily life just as upright, just as worthy, just as kind and considerate, just as good a man as any sincere Christian.

Sin is in its consequences merciless and dread. Each offender is responsible to himself for his misdeeds and to himself alone. For the Buddhists believe that no one can wash away our sin, atonement for it can never be avoided; without reparation no evil deed can ever be

excused. The salvation of man is not in faith but in fatality, not by words only but by works also. No Buddhist believes for a moment that a good death can hallow an evil life, and any Buddhist to-day would consider the belief that a reprobate could by a deathbed repentance enter into paradise on an equality with those people whose life had been pure, to be a belief most laughably absurd.

To turn back now to the greatest of Buddha's teachings, the doctrine which he forged out mentally during his seven days rapt seance under the Bodhi tree, I mean the Pratitya-samutpada, as it is called, or the Chain of Causation.

Instead of speaking of the twelve links, or *nidanas,* of this metaphysical chain in their usual sequence, I am going to give them in their inverted order for the sake of ease and clearness of comprehension.

(a) Existence is miserable; the round of Birth, Old Age and Death bring inevitably in their train, desolation, grief, affliction, suffering and despair.

(b) But all this anguish results from Birth.

(c) Birth is due to our parents' previous life, — to previous existence.

(d) All existence, mental and physical, is due to nourishment as well of the body as of the mind, — to *upadana,* to the voluntary attitude of receptivity.

(e) This underlying cause of existence is in its turn due to Desire, *trsna.*

(f) Desire is awakened by sensations, sight, smell, touch, hearing, taste, by mental imagery.

(g) All sensation results from Contact, *sparça.*

(h) Contact implies the presence of the six bodily organs,—the eye, the nose, the ear, the tongue, the skin, the mind.

(i) These organs can only be possessed by an individ-

ual, whose individuality consists in *namarupa,* or name and form, *nama* being, roughly speaking, his mental constitution, *rupa* his physical structure.

(j) Without these concomitant and interdependent phenomena of body and mentality, consciousness is impossible.

(k) Consciousness comes from the *Samskara,* the formations. This term has been compared (by Oltramare, *La Formule Bouddhique,* Geneva, 1909, p. 16) to the masses of apperception of the Hebartian psychology.

(l) These *samskaras,* in turn, rest upon ignorance.

This is his chain; by this series of arguments, many of which were by no means original with him, Buddha traced all suffering back to ignorance. It is a philosophical scheme not of universal but only of human application.

The confession of faith of Buddhism is this:

> Of those things (conditions) which spring from a cause
> The Cause hath been told by the Consummate One
> And their suppression likewise
> The great teacher hath revealed.

Connected with the Chain of Causation comes the doctrine of the four verities, namely, Suffering, the origin of suffering, the suppression of suffering and the way leading to this suppression.

The way to the suppression of suffering is called the the Eightfold Path, namely, right faith, right judgment, right language, right purpose, right action, right hinking, right meditation, right means of livelihood.

But Buddha's fame does not rest upon his philosophy. In fact (as Pischel, *Leben des Buddhas,* 1908, p. 10, states) all of theoretical Buddhism has been borrowed from the Samkhya philosophy. There are many inconsistencies in his philosophy. When occasionally he was pressed by some casuist for a more acute anwer to some

searching question of dialectics or of metaphysical sophistry, he refused to reply, saying that such subject did not tend toward edification.

It has indeed been claimed that Gautama took up with philosophy purely with ulterior motives, that he founded a philosophical school because that was the only way to gain high standing with the people. In India philosophy has ever been held in honor.

His system has been called (by Waddell, quoted by Kern, Buddhism, Leyden, 18, p. 50) an "idealistic Nihilism; an idealism which like that of Berkeley holds that the 'fruitful source of all error was the unfounded belief in the reality and existence of the external world,' and that man can perceive nothing but his feelings, and is the cause to himself of these. That all known or knowable objects are relative to a conscious subject, and thereby a product of the ego, for the ego, in the ego.

"But unlike Berkeley's Idealism, this recognition of the relativity and limitations of knowledge and the consequent disappearance of the world as a reality, led directly to Nihilism, by seeming to exclude the knowledge, and by implication the existence not only of a creator but of an absolute Being."

Buddha's reforms, then, were the abolition of sacrifice, the inculcation of moderation instead of asceticism, and perhaps, in a lesser way, the combating of Caste. But greatest of all his reforms was the powerful emphasis he laid upon the doctrine of Nirvana.

Nirvana (in Pali, *nibbana*) is the goal, the highest aim of every Buddhist. The word is a figurative one; *nih* or *nir* is a prefix meaning "out of, way from," *va,* means "to breathe," and *na* in the Sanskrit and Pali languages is the sign of the past participle. So the word literally means "that which has been breathed out," hence "quenching, extinction." This etymological interpreta-

tion is borne out by illustrations in the Buddhist scriptures; it is frequently compared to the blowing out of a flame. Our life is the flame, — when we die, we shall, if our life has been perfect, go immediately into this happy, blissful state of nothingness and annihilation. But if we are not perfect, we must first go through other existences. There is a whole series of Heavens, each one of them adapted to the particular grade of virtue of those who are on their way toward the attainment of the final Nirvana, and for the wicked there are twenty-four different hells, where they may be born again in the form of dogs, or toads, or serpents.

We find many changes in this religion as time goes on, — countless changes. One of the Japanese sects, for example, worships a god, Amida, the creator, and in this same sect the Buddha has somewhat the rôle of a prophet. So that when a person says such and such a doctrine is Buddhistic, the foreign critic should always be chary of pronouncing judgment before first having carefully determined whether such particular doctrine is of the Mahayana, the later, or Northern School, or whether it is of the Hinayana, the earlier, or Southern School, and then in either case, whether the particular doctrine is in the canon itself or in some writings of the commentators.

For the word Buddhism, as often loosely employed, is so broad as to be well-nigh meaningless.

Among some later generations of Gautama's followers, the hydra-head of fetichism is lifted up. Weird superstitions and bizarre mythology are rife throughout the land. Hero worship creeps in. Relics of the holy Gautama are treasured up. In Ceylon at this very day, within the sacred inner precincts of the temple, lies hidden from profane eyes the most previous of their religious treasures, — Buddha's tooth, — an ivory fang the length of one's finger. Elsewhere, too, we find the same pitiful craving of

humanity for something holy that the eye can see and the hands touch.

And when the waves of his passing had in time widened into ripples, we find the distant countries which receive his influence submit his tenets to many changes. Commentation and translation give rise to divergence of schools. With changes in dogma come also changes in sacraments. The alterations in ritual mark the coming in of liturgy, — that barnacle of time upon religion's rocky fastness.

Toward the fourth century A. D. is found the beginning of a very wide and profound division in the ranks of Buddha's followers. Or perhaps we might rather say an outgrowth, since the new school of the North, the Mahayana, includes for the most part, among its adherents, tribes and nations to whom the older school, the Hinayana, or Southern branch, did not appeal.

The Mahayana, although keeping intact the original scriptures, has in many respects amplified and added to their doctrines to a most surprising extent. There is no formal discrepancy between the two great branches with regard to the moral code; but we may state that with the Northern Buddhists moral activity comes more into the foreground. Not the Arahat, the perfect Buddha, he who has shaken off all human feeling, — but the generous, self-sacrificing Buddhisattva, the Buddha in his past existences when he had more of human frailty, is the ideal of the Mahayanists, and this attractive side of the creed has perhaps more than anything else contributed to their wide conquests, whereas Southern Buddhism has not been able to make converts except where the ground had first been prepared by Hinduism or Mahayanism.

The Mahayana, too, has laid great stress upon devotion, or *bhakti;* the ritual from being merely commemorative has become worshipful.

In Thibet a surprising emphasis is given to the karma doctrine, namely, the heaping up of merit, just as grain would be stored up in a barn. This is evidenced by that popular Thibetan institution of the prayer-wheel, the well known device turned by water, wind, or the pious finger of the passerby; every revolution of the prayer is believed to bring its due store of merit.

These wide, these fundamental changes in the earlier beliefs, may well give us pause. And observing the astonishing way in which some of the Northern sects have varied from Buddha's teachings while yet preserving his name, we are led to speculate as to what a practical religion would be without the race spirit, and when we see that some of the Japanese sects have to the atheism of Buddha added a God, Amida, we recall irresistibly that sardonic saying: "If there were no God, mankind would have to make one."

To all of these changes, Buddhism lent itself with peculiar ease; for just as kindness had been the keynote of Buddha's character, so compassion and love became the watchward and countersign of his followers. The kindliness of his own life foreshadowed the prevailing spirit of his church. The fervent followers were urged to ignore whatever in another's religious belief might appear to them unseemly, to concentrate their attention upon their own welfare of soul; and furthermore upon taat hardest of all acquisitions of a zealot, toleration, Buddhism has laid the greatest emphasis.

The progress of this religion among foreign peoples was strikingly easy. The morality of the Buddhist clergy seems always to have been high. They practiced what they preached. Then, too, the church never attracted unfavorable attention by any political activities. Buddhists have always sought to keep the church and state entirely apart (with the possible exception of Thibet).

In Burma, for example, if a priest should express any opinion on war, or law, or finance, this act would at once mark him as a backslider and renegade, and he would forthwith be driven from the order by the mere force of public opinion.

As a result, religious wars have never soiled the fair standards of this faith; persecution or oppression has never marred its course; the sword has never blazed the path of its continental progress. Elevation of soul has never been upheld by putting thought in chains, nor has fanaticism ever dimmed the sweet light of reason. Independence of view-point has always been esteemed, and free-thinking held in honor.

Yet this passivity of attitude has from a practical standpoint been a source of weakness. When in 1857 the British invaded Burma, in all that immense country not a single Buddhist priest did the slightest thing to encourage the Burmese householders to a patriotic stand for their country. Every soldier that struck a blow in defense of his home, did so with a vivid realization that he would suffer moral punishment. They all believed that killing in war is just as much murder as is killing in any other way. In either case the sin must meet with the same retribution. No people in history have been firmer believers in the teaching: "Take ye no thought for the things of this world." Southern Buddhism shows an astonishing lack of militancy. The strictness of their adherence to this particular teaching of the Master may be due to their superior piety of soul, but may quite possibly have been brought about by the enervating influence of a tropical climate.

Some of Buddha's physical doctrines are of interest, especially from the fact that the universe outside of mankind occupied a very minor rôle in his philosophy; one or two of his physical doctrines are to a certain extent par-

alleled in the Greek philosophies, and have likewise a likeness to some of the latest teachings of some modern thinkers.

Everything is in constant motion, he says, — nowhere is there stillness. *Sarvam anetyam,* — all is in eternal change. There is no such thing as a whole, but only an infinite number of parts.

Then, too, the doctrine of *karma* has certain analogies with the modern doctrines of heredity and evolution.

In the *Dhamma sanghani,* a treatise later in date than the canon, we find startling similarities with modern psychology. But the incipient seeds of science bore no fruit; for if the universe is a hopeless, dark and dismal dwelling, why should man seek to learn its ordering?

To pronounce judgment on anything at all is far from easy, to give fair treatment to a strange religion is extremely hard. The light by which we behold cannot be lifted from our eyelids, — to see we must have light; but this very light may make the outer shadows darker still. Insidious prejudice is apt to creep in with stealthy foot.

We should be apt to say, for example, off-hand, that to a Buddhist — a Southern Buddhist — prayer would be impossible. For what, in sooth, is more glaringly inconsistent than to commune with a non-existent deity? And yet, and yet! A traveler in Burma tells us that he saw one day a woman who had lost her child. And after the first wild, incredulous ecstasy of grief she went before a Buddhist temple and knelt in prayer. To whom could her prayers have been addressed? Not to Buddha, for he is absorbed into utter nothingness, into Nirvana. Was she not praying to the unknown God?

From the Christian standpoint, Buddhism seems negative, pessimistic and selfish. We walk alone. Everyone is struggling for himself. Every man is his own savior. There is no mysterious presence with us to

cheer, to guide, to counsel, to console. There is no immanence, no indwelling of the Spirit. Hope is overbalanced by memory. The past drags down the future to its level. No one can lift the moral burden from our shoulders. We must, each one of us, pull ourselves out of the slough of despond — alone.

There is too much of the individual, too little of the universal; too much concern with the welfare of one's own soul, too little concern with the wellbeing of society. There is too much marking up of moral credits, too little laying down of civic corner-stones. Too negative, too passive. It is hard to imagine how a Buddhist could have much enthusiasm for such a creed.

Then take the Buddhist attitude toward the present world, — full of suffering, they say, and of misery and woe. With what deliberation they gaze upon the dark side of things! Is it not of significance that the prince of modern pessimists, Schopenhauer, should have been largely inspired by the Buddhist doctrines?

Then again, the karma doctrine, although it may, to some minds, contain a certain outward temptingness of logic, really does seem on examination to be merely a dignified kind of moralistic bookkeeping. Misdeeds are debited, good deeds are credited. To get your reward you must present a satisfactory balance, and then the final trump will open the portals for you into Nirvana, and your bookkeeping is done.

In other words, the Buddhists are taught to do right for their own personal advantage, not because it is right. The Buddhists would give overwhelming acceptance to that cynical phrase: "Honesty is the best policy." With the Buddhists sin is a calamity, a misfortune to be avoided, — not a pollution. Would not any one rather have a favor done him because the other person loved him, rather than because that other person was thinking

of the effect such act would have on his own soul? Is not morality noblest when its motives are noble?

And the end, they say, is yawning nothingness. No purified communion of souls, no everlasting converse of the spirits of the blessed. Thus, how can a Buddhist go to his end with the clear eye of anticipation, with smiling lips and uplifted face full of a radiant hope, with an unfaltering trust in Something wider in mercy than the heavens, whose face is more glorious than the sun?

The foregoing may serve as the merest outline of Buddhist doctrines. If space would only permit, we might discuss many other phases of this extensive topic. To narrate the course of this religion, into Thibet, China and Japan, would be highly profitable, as perhaps also would be a short account of Buddhistic art and folk-lore, and the part which the religion now plays in countless homes in many nations. And perhaps also the attitude of fervent Buddhists toward our own religion would be worth discussion. But this cannot be done.

Yet even the briefest treatment is enough to indicate Buddha's nobility of soul and the purity of his life and of his aims. He occupies a worthy place with the religious teachers of nations other than our own.

And as our attention is turned to a closer examination of the religious beliefs of other ages, we shall find, I think, that what at first appeared far apart and widely different will be seen to have some fundamental likeness. It is as if we were standing near a high mountain, which as we look up, looms so huge and vast that it shuts off everything behind; but as we move further away, other peaks come into our vision, forming an endless mountain range whose serried heights stretch away infinitely into the past. And one mountain joins into another as far as the eye can reach, for they are all based upon the rock of aspiration, and of every one we see the summit pointing upward.

V

ZOROASTER AND THE AVESTA: THE RELIGION OF ANCIENT PERSIA

By Arthur Frank Joseph Remy, A.M., Ph.D.

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Ancient Persia, one of the great monarchies of the East, ruler at one time of Egypt and Palestine and the rival of Greece and Rome for the domination of the Western world. Its religion must be of the greatest interest to all students of human civilization, especially for Bible students, in view of the fact that during the Babylonian captivity the people of Israel were under Persian sway and brought into direct contact with this great religious system. The student of comparative religion in particular cannot fail to be impressed by the numerous and striking parallels between the great religion of Iran, on the one hand, and Judaism and Christianity on the other.

I may remark incidentally that one of the most interesting questions is: What was the influence of Judaism upon Parsism? or, vice versa: what was the influence of Parsism upon Judaism and, therefore, upon Christianity?

Various names, according to certain prominent features, are given to the religion of ancient Iran. It is sometimes called Mazdaism, from the name of the supreme deity, Mazda; Magism, from the name of a Median tribe and priestly family; "fire worship," from the sacred fire regarded as a symbol of purity; Dualism, from the prominence given to the struggle between good

and evil, and Parsism, the name which is most in use at present, derived from *Pārsī,* an inhabitant of *Pārs,* the Persian province. But the best designation, undoubtedly, is Zoroastrianism, from the name of its founder,—— just as we speak of Buddhism and Mohammedanism, from the names of their respective founders, and of Christianity, from the name of our own divine founder.

This brings me at the outset to the question of the personality of Zoroaster. It is a name long identified in the Western world with occult wisdom and magic. The conception of the great Iranian sage as a magician and sorcerer, so prominent in books of the black art, as, for instance, in those figuring in the Faust-legend, has been current ever since the days of classical antiquity. To the Greeks and Romans Zoroaster was the arch-representative of the Magi, and the most fantastic tales were related concerning his demoniac powers.

No wonder that later ages have doubted his very existence and regarded him as purely mythical. To-day, however, we know that Zoroaster was a real, historical personage, no more mythical than Buddha. The Iranian sources have been studied, and from them as well as from the tradition still living among the modern Parsees we have learned much about the personlity of the great prophet of ancient Iran.

As far as the name Zoroaster is concerned, it comes from the Latin through the Greek form *Ζωροάστρης.* The Avestan form is ZARATHUSHTRA, the modern Persian *Zardusht.* The Greek form, translated as "Golden Star," suggests a very beautiful name. As a matter of fact, in the Avestan form *Zarathushtra* the second element, *ushtra,* certainly means "camel." What the first part means is not clear, but the name was evidently quite prosaic and commonplace.

As for the prophet's date, extravagant claims of anti-

quity have been made. Some dating him as early as 6,000 B.C.; others making him a contemporary of Ninus and Semiramis. But these claims are wholly unfounded. Parsee tradition places him only three hundred years earlier than Alexander the Great, and this seems to be nearly right. According to the investigation of the best Iranian scholars, the latter half of the seventh and the beginning of the sixth century before Christ is the era when the great prophet flourished.

As for his native place, that is also uncertain. He was probably born in Western Iran, but much of his missionary work was done in Bactria, in the East. The native tradition knows of miracles attending his birth and infancy. The child, we are told, laughed loudly the moment it was born into the world. The attempts of demons to destroy it are frustrated by divine power. Like most great religious teachers Zoroaster abandons the world when he becomes of age in order to prepare for his mission.

It is related how he underwent and successfully withstood temptation. The great revelation came to him at the age of thirty. Transported, like Mohammed, into the presence of the supreme deity, he hears from the lips of Ahura Mazda the teachings of which he was to be the prophet and apostle. The struggles of his missionary career were much like those of other reformers, but finally he succeeded in winning over King Vishtāspa, and the religion was carried to triumph by the strong arm of this Constantine of the Iranian faith. Zoroaster is said to have been forty-two years of age when this happened, and he is said to have died at the age of seventy-seven.

The native Persian tradition, as represented by the famous national Epic, the *Shāh Nāmah* of Firdausī, relates that he was slain when the fierce Turanians

stormed Balkh. But, though the prophet died, his religion lived on, and was adopted, in all likelihood at least, by the great Achæmenian kings, the successors of Cyrus and Darius, and became one of the dominant religions of the ancient East. But it, also, shared the reverses of the Persian monarchy, when Alexander the Great began his career of conquest.

Parsee tradition speaks of him as "the accursed Iskandar," the man who destroyed the sacred texts, and who scattered the priests. For five centuries the faith was in neglect until the accession of the Sassanian dynasty, in 226 A.D., when a great revival came, and Zoroastrianism attained its greatest prosperity, which continued until it finally succumbed, never to rise again, before the fanatical assaults of Islam. The battle of Navahend, in 641, sealed its fate; the majority of its followers accepted the new religion. Of the few who remained faithful some were scattered throughout their native land, but most of them preferred exile and fled to India. To-day most of the Parsees are at Bombay, where they form a community of about ninety thousand souls, highly prosperous, highly respected, and practicing as of old the inculcated virtue of generosity.

The sacred book of the religion, the Parsee Bible, is the Avesta, and occupies the same place in the literature of Iran as the Vedas do in that of India. The title, *Zend-Avesta,* often given to it is not strictly correct. In Pahlavi (that is middle Persia, the language in which the later literature was written), the name is *Avistāk u Zand;* now *Zand* means "commentary" and *Avistāk* probably means "text" or "law." Hence the language in which the book was written should not be called "Zend," as is often done. It should be called, if anything, "Avestan." To call it "Zend" is simply calling it by the name of the commentary, instead of calling it

by the name of the book itself. This language is Indo-Germanic; together with the Sanskrit it constitutes the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-Germanic family. It is very closely akin to Sanskrit, but not quite so difficult. The script in which it is written is of Semitic origin, and, like all Semitic script, is traced from right to left and not from left to right.

The existence of such a body of writings as the Avesta was long suspected from allusions in ancient authors, but not until the eighteenth century was the Avesta really discovered. Then Anquetil du Perron, a young French scholar, specially went to India for this purpose, and after many trials and hardships he succeeded in bringing back to Europe the first copy of the sacred text, and the first translation into any European language, into French, appeared in 1771. It was the starting point for the study of Iranian philology, in spite of the many imperfections that naturally belong to a first attempt.

As to the Avesta itself, a few words must suffice for this lecture. Originally it was much more extensive than what we have to-day. In its present form its different parts date from different periods. The first portions, the metrical hymns, the *Gāthās,* are ascribed to Zoroaster himself, and it is certain that the faith is here represented in its purest form. The Avesta is supplemented by a rich Pahlavi literature, just as our own Bible is supplemented by the Patristic writings; but of these Pahlavi writings I mention only one as an important source for our knowledge concerning the Persian doctrine of a future life. It is the *Arda Vīrāf Nāmak,* the story of a saint who, like Dante, had a vision of hell and described its horrors.

The religion itself, when we come to examine it, presents, as its most striking feature, what is called

Dualism, which is nothing but an attempt to explain the origin of evil. Two great principles, Good and Evil, are assumed as having existed from the beginning of time. Ormazd represents the good, Ahriman the evil. An unceasing warfare is waged between them. Ormazd's creation is wholly good; Ahriman's is wholly bad. The one dwells in light and the other in darkness. And yet there is a monotheistic tendency in this dualistic system, for it postulates the ultimate triumph of good over evil, and the final disappearance of evil from the world, when the *Kshathra Vairya,* or "Wished-for Kingdom," the millennium, shall arrive. The advent of this blessed state is clearly foretold, and it behooves man to aid its coming by using the freedom of his will rightly, by choosing to practice the good in preference to the evil.

The supreme God is *Ahura Mazda.* That is the Avestan form. In modern Persian he is called *Ormazd.* In the ancient Persian inscriptions he is invoked as *Auramazda. Ahura* probably means "lord," and *mazda* is akin to the Sanscrit word *mēdhas,* which means "wisdom." No concrete image is ever given in Iranian art of this deity. The Iranians had a very spirtual conception of their supreme god. The solitary picture which is found on the rock inscription of Behistān, is borrowed from Babylonian art. Nor does the literature give a definite description. All that is said of his appearance is that he is surrounded by a majesty of flame. This absence of images must have forcibly struck the ancient Greeks, whose plastic imagination gave a human form to every divinity, and, indeed, Herodotus does comment upon this fact as peculiar to the religion of the ancient Persians.

The conception of the supreme deity is strikingly pure and lofty. His very name implies wisdom and power.

He is described in the texts as good, holy, radiant, righteous and just. He is the supreme lawgiver, watchful, infallible, all-knowing; eternal light is his dwelling-place. In fact, light is spoken of sometimes as his clothing or his vesture. But above all he is a creator; he has created all the good in the world, — the light, the earth, the plants; — and his creation is pre-eminently an intelligent one.

Throughout the Zoroastrian literature the creator idea is emphasized. The most conspicuous and frequently recurring epithet bestowed upon Ormazd, is *datar* (creator). In the ancient inscriptions the great Persian kings proclaim Aura-mazda as *mathishta bagānām,* "the greatest of gods," — a Creator and Preserver.

Associated with and subordinate to Ormazd is an elaborate array of celestial spirits, constituting a well-defined hierarchy, and closely corresponding to the Christian conception of angels. His mighty ministers are the *Amesha Spentas,* the "Immortal Holy Ones," the modern Persian *Amshaspands,* corresponding to our archangels. There are six, and their names are simply personifications of abstract virtues, attributes of the Creator himself; for instance, *Vohu Manah,* ("Good Mind"); *Asha Vahishta* ("Best Righteousness"); *Kshathra Vairya* ("Wished-for Kingdom"); *Spenta Armaiti* ("Holy Piety"), and so on.

Scarcely inferior to these is *Sraosha* ("Obedience"), a sort of Iranian St. Michael, who is the special smiter of demons, the wicked *daēvas* or the *drujes.* He is associated with *Rashnu,* the angel of Justice, and *Mithra,* the angel of Light, and these three form the awful tribunal that judges the soul immediately after death. Mithra is of especial interest to students of religious history. Originally, like the Vedic *Mitra,* a primitive Aryan Sun-deity, he becomes in the Avestan system the

spirit of truth, the favorite Iranian virtue, and he rises to a position of the utmost importance, becoming the object of a special cult which, it is well known, extended all over Europe and even as far as Britain. Other minor deities, the *Yazatas* ("Worshipful ones"), are mere abstractions or personifications of natural elements such as the sun, the moon, the stars, and the sacred Haoma-plant; the plant used for making the sacred drink, corresponding to the *Vedic Soma.*

Ātar (fire) deserves special mention, because fire was a symbol of the divinity, and was regarded as particularly sacred. It occupies a conspicuous place in the Avestan cult, so much so that the name "Fire-worshipers" has been applied to the Parsees, of course quite erroneously. They do not worship fire at all, but use it as a symbol.

We must also mention the enigmatical *Fravashis,* who have been variously explained. By some they are regarded as the spirits of the departed; according to the opinion of others, they correspond most nearly to the pre-existent ideas of Platonic philosophy.

The parallels which this system presents to Christianity and Judaism are obvious, particularly in the case of Ahura Mazda; but there is a great difference. Jehovah is the Creator of the whole universe; his omnipotence is absolute; but Ormazd creates only the good creatures. He is limited in his activity by the chief evil spirit, Ahriman. In the Avesta this spirie is called *Angra Mainyu,* a name of obscure etymology. The first word may mean "hostile," the second certainly means "spirit." The name does not occur in the old Persian inscriptions. Ahriman is a distinctly Zoroastrian conception, the most pronounced idea of a satanic being which any pre-Christian religion possesses. He is the implacable foe of Ormazd and the good creation.

Pouru-Mahrka ("full of death"), and *duzhdāo* ("evil knowing") are his most frequent epithets; darkness is his abode. He knows only the present and the past; the future belongs to Ormazd alone. He has existed independently of Ormazd from eternity, but he will not be eternal, — at the end of time he will be destroyed.

A consistent system of Dualism requires an elaborate diabolical hierarchy, in order to oppose the celestial one, The Zoroastrian hell, and its infernal host, leave nothing to be desired in point of completeness of detail. There is an immense array of *daēvas* and *drujes*. Every Amshaspand or archangel is opposed by some arch-fiend, the chief of whom is *Aka Manah,* (Evil Mind), the opponent of *Vohu Manah* (Good Mind). Among the others, the most interesting to us is *Aēshma,* the Demon of Wrath, whose name is familiar to us as the biblical *Asmodeus* (the Avestan *Aēshma daēva*) in the Book of Tobias.

Besides these arch-fiends there is a host of inferior demons of different rank, such as *Daēvas,* the later Persian *dīvs, Drujes,* for the most part subordinate female demons; *Yātus "sorcerers"* and *Pairikās,* a sort of fairies of evil seductive nature, who have become widely known as the Peris of later Persian poetry, and as such have passed into Western literature. I need only mention the story of "Paradise and the Peri" in Moore's "Lalla Rookh." There are also other evil creatures, of which the half-human monster *Azhi Dahāka* deserves special mention.

Now a word as to the ethics of the religion. If parallels with Christianity were striking in the angelology and the demonology, they are still more striking when we come to examine the Avestan ethical code. Free will and moral responsibility, these are the two cardinal points of the Zoroastrian doctrine. Between the two

opposing realms man stands as a free agent, free to choose the good or the evil. He is Ormazd's creature, and therefore he should choose the good. Ormazd has made known to him, through his prophet, the divine law, and at his death he will have to answer for the use which he has made of this knowledge. Punishment and reward will be meted out according to the life which he has led in this world. The evil spirit and his hosts will tempt him. Zoroaster, like Christ himself, was thus tempted. The sovereignty of the whole world, so the Avesta tells us, was offered to him, but, like Christ, he spurned the offer. Note that action is the keynote of the Zoroastrian religion; unlike Buddhism, quietism is not its highest ideal. With the fatalistic and pessimistic Hindu systems, with their doctrine of Karma and their never-ending cycle of existences, the Avestan system has nothing in common. Its moral and ethical code does not differ much from our own; purity of body and soul are enjoined, also charity, generosity and, especially, truthfulness. Perjury, impurity and violence are unsparingly denounced. The ethical code of Zoroastrianism may be summed up in the ever-recurring triad of *humata, hūkhta, hvarshta* (good thought, good word, good deed).

Note, therefore, that the Zoroastrian religion distinctly recognizes that sin may be committed in thought as well as in act.

Asceticism is wholly unknown to this religion, which rather encourages a wholesome enjoyment of life. Christian anchorites, Hindu fakirs and Sufic Derwishes were unknown institutions in ancient Iran. Most peculiar are the funeral rites of the Parsees. They do not bury their dead, but expose them on special structures called *dakhmas* (towers of silence), to be devoured by vultures. This singular and, to us, rather repulsive

custom originated in the extreme reverence entertained for the purity of the elements, earth, water, fire. Stringent prescriptions to keep these elements pure from defilement, especially from contact with dead matter, are enjoined in the Avesta, so that corpses can neither be burned, buried, nor thrown into the water; hence they are exposed to the birds of the air on the towers of silence.

Of course there is also a darker side to the picture. In spite of the injunction as to chastity, polygamy and concubinage did exist in ancient Persia. Stupid superstitions and resultant repugnant practices were also not wanting. Especially hateful to us is the practice of what is called *Khvaētvadatha,* which is nothing else but next-of-kin marriage, brothers even marrying sisters. This has been given up long since and modern Parsees even deny that it ever existed. But the proofs are against them. Revolting cruelty is shown in the punishments inflicted on traitors, as recorded in the inscriptions, — flaying, impaling and mutilations were common. Other offenses, which the Avesta regards as serious, as for instance, walking barefoot, seem to us too trivial to be noticed, and we cannot understand why they have found their way into a law code.

And now for the eschatology, the doctrine of the final things. It is in this doctrine and in its conception of a future life, that Zoroastrianism appears in its most ideal aspect, and presents the most striking parallels to Christianity, especially to Catholicism. After death the soul hovers around the body for three days before it leaves the earth. It is then met by a fair maid, if the deceased has been good, but by an ugly hag if he has been wicked. These escort him into the presence of the angels, Mithra, Sraosha and Rashnu. Then the balance is brought forth. The good and evil deeds are carefully

weighed, and the turn of the impartial scales irrevocably decides the fate of the soul. This is the usual way of representing the judgment in the Avesta. You will notice the striking analogy between this doctrine and the doctrine of private judgment after death as taught by the Catholic church. The soul next comes to the *Chinvat* bridge, which spans the abyss of hell. This bridge becomes broad for the good spirit, which walks across in safety, but it becomes narrow, like the edge of a sword, for the evil spirit, which then falls into the bottomless pit. Onward the good spirit passes through the regions of the stars, the moon and the sun, corresponding to the grades of good thoughts, good words, good deeds, until it reaches *Garōnmāna,* "the House of Song," the blessed abode of Ormazd and the angels, the place of eternal light; but the lost soul plunges downward through three grades of evil thoughts, evil words, evil deeds, into the abode of wretchedness.

Of the Iranian hell, as I have said, we have a vivid description in the Pahlavi work, called "The Vision of Arda Vīrāf." A Dantesque vision of the place of torment which awaits those who sin. It is there described as a place of palpable darkness, of evil stench, wherein the poor souls are crowded together, "like the hairs on a horse's mane," where they suffer the pangs of thirst and, as an extreme misery, a feeling of utter and desolate loneliness, analogous to the misery which the damned in Christian theology suffer, through being deprived of the sight of God. A special place is provided in this system, for those whose good and evil deeds exactly counterbalance. This place is called *Hamēstakān,* the "Ever Stationary," and there the souls of such unfortunates remain to the final day. Here again the analogy to the Catholic doctrine of purgatory is

apparent; but notice the difference, — the Avestan *Hamēstakān* is a place for the indifferent, not for the righteous; it is not a place where the righteous enter and where they are cleansed of their imperfections before they are allowed to appear before the all-righteous Lord; it is a place for those who have simply lived indifferently, and there they abide until the day of judgment. They do not suffer and they are not happy. They remind us of the people for whom, we may remember, Virgil expresses his contempt to Dante in the famous third canto of the Inferno, when he points out to the poet the souls of those who lived "without blame and without praise." "Fama die loro il mondo esser non lassa, Misericordia e giustizia gli sdegna; Non ragioniam di lor ma guarda e passa," — "The world does not permit any report of them; mercy and justice spurn them; let us not talk about them, but look and pass," — too contemptible, in other words, to be noticed. In the Avesta these unfortunates fare a little better than in Dante's great epic.

The Zoroastrian doctrines of the end of the world and the resurrection are striking in their resemblance to those of Christianity. The coming of a savior and the resurrection of the dead is distinctly predicted in the Avesta. The end of the world is heralded by signs and tokens not unlike those of the Apocalypse. Prophets born from the seed of Zoroaster will be the forerunners of the great *Saoshyant* or Savior who will come in the last period. And each of these saviors will be born in a supernatural manner, from a virgin bathing in the Kansava lake, — another striking parallel to Christian doctrine. The Messiah will accomplish the *Frashōkereti* or rejuvenation of the world and preside over the resurrection, when each soul will assume its former body and recognize its relatives and friends.

And then the Day of Judgment is at hand; the righteous are separated from the unrighteous, and the earth is then consumed by a general conflagration. A flood of molten metal pours forth, and through this all men must pass; to the good it feels, as the Pahlavi text tells us, like warm milk, but to the wicked it feels like real molten metal. And then the creation having been purified in this awful flood, the great final struggle will take place; the Saoshyant, and the heavenly hosts will hurl back the final assault which is made by the powers of Evil on the kingdom of Good, and the kingdom of Good will triumph. The kingdom of Evil will be absolutely destroyed, and hell itself will be brought back in order to enlarge the rejuvenated world. Good then will reign supreme. The world after this, thus rejuvenated, will be undying, never to perish again, and all men unite to sing the praise of Ormazd, through whom creation has been restored to purity.

It must be added, however, that these doctrines, though distinctly recognized in the Avesta, were not developed in detail until later times. They are most explicitly presented in the Pahlavi texts, especially in the *Būndahishn.*

As for the Parsee cult, there is an elaborate ritual by which divine worship is carried on. Divine worship is laid upon man as a duty; and, furthermore, it is to be carried on according to certain forms by a priesthood; it cannot be carried on according to the individual's pleasure, so a hereditary priesthood is provided and still kept up; there are also temples, although apparently little used in Zoroaster's day. To-day the Parsees have fine temples at Bombay and elsewhere. The ritual varies but little from that of two thousand years ago, and it presents numerous analogies to our own. The leading rites consist in the Haoma-sacrifice, the care of the Sacred

Fire, and the chanting of the liturgical hymns and passages from the Avesta. Bigotry is not fostered. On the contrary, a humane tolerance characterizes the Parsees of the present day, though they do not respond, as a rule, to the proselytizing efforts of Christian missionaries.

Such, in brief, is an outline of the religion of Persian Iran, founded by Zoroaster, and still practiced by a few faithful followers in India and Persia.

The monotheistic tendency existing from the very beginning is even more rigidly insisted on by the modern Parsees, and the objectionable practices, like Khvaētvadatha, are largely done away with; and whether we view the religion from the point of view of dogma or of ethics, we must admit that it is vastly superior to almost any one of the ancient religious systems, — in fact, inferior only to Judaism and Christianity.

The opinion of a learned Jesuit theologian, quoted by Casartelli in his article in the Catholic Encyclopaedia, is this: "The Avestan system is the highest religious result to which human reason, unaided by revelation, can attain."

I believe that this opinion is not at all exaggerated, but simply an impartial and unbiassed expression of the truth.

VI

THE RELIGION OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

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There are two great rivers in Western Asia that empty into the Persian Gulf. Both of them rise in the mountains of Armenia; one of them makes a great bend to the westward, flows then for a short distance southward and turns to the southeast, and continues that course till it reaches the sea. The other, whose source is separated by only a mountain ridge from the first, flows slightly east of south and then south till it, too, reaches the sea, only a few miles from the mouth of the former river. One of these is the Euphrates and the other is the Tigris.

At the present day they reach the sea by a common channel, but in the time of which I am to speak their course was separate to the very end, the Persian Gulf extending at that time further to the north than it does now. Along the southern course of the Euphrates lay several important cities. The best known of them was Babylon. On the upper course of the Tigris the most important settlement was the great town that we know as Nineveh. Babylon was the chief city, in historical times, of Babylonia, and Nineveh of Assyria.

These countries were inhabited by a people speaking a common language with only slight dialectic differences. They emerged, it is believed, from the great interior table-land of Arabia, and proceeded north and northeast-

ward, Babylonia, therefore, being the first of these countries to be settled by them. The wave passed on and reached Assyria.

Prior to the irruption of these people from Arabia, there was also a population — at least in Babylonia — of a different stock, some traces of which remain in the monuments which are now in our possession. But the great bulk of the population of the whole region inclosed by these two great rivers, — especially populous along their banks, — was of one language and probably of one blood, the relation being similar to the relation between Austria and Germany, — separate politically for long periods, rivals, in conflict often, sometimes one and sometimes the other getting the upper hand. And this common stock was related in language, and perhaps also in blood, to the Hebrew people, so important to us and to the world in the history of religion.

These peoples were themselves religious peoples. Like all nations that have thus far become known to man by actual exploration or by historical inquiry, they were concerned with religion, but these more than most. Especially was this the case with Babylonia. The relation between Babylonia and Assyria was in some respects, from the point of view of literature, of the development of thought and of religion, like the relation between Greece and Rome.

You remember how Paul found the people of Athens very religious. The same thing was true in a high degree of the people of Babylonia. We do not know them, from the Old Testament, especially on the religious side. These are the peoples whose kings appear from time to time in the political life of the kingdoms of Israel. Back in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis we have a reference to kings of Babylonia. Still earlier, in the tenth chapter of Genesis, there is what seems to be the remnant of a

tradition in regard to the relation between Babylonia and Assyria, in connection with the story of Nimrod. Later we find Tiglath-pileser, in II Kings xv, and Pul, in the same chapter, — another name for the same man. In II Kings xvii, we have Shalmaneser. In Isaiah, chapter xx, we have the name of Sargon, one of the greatest of the Assyrian kings; and in Isaiah xxxvi, and the following, as well as in II Kings xviii and xix, we have much to do with Sennacherib, the son of Sargon, whose threat of absolutely destroying Jerusalem and Judah was thwarted as the people confidently believed, by a special divine intervention. At the end of the books of Kings, in II Kings xxiv and xxv, as well as in the book of Jeremiah, we find mention of the great Babylonian king, Nebuchadnezzar, as it is given in Kings — Nebuchadrezzar, more accurately, in Jeremiah, — and of his successor, Evil-Merodach; and with these the references to kings of Assyria and Babylonia end. Then comes the Persian period, and then the Greek, with which I am not now concerned.

Notwithstanding the fact, however, that we know of them from the Old Testament almost exclusively on the political side, their religious history is one of equal interest. The religious constitution, if one may so say, of Babylonia was primarily that of separate cities, each city having its chief god, some cities having more than one, but even then one chief. These gods were related to each other and by degrees became associated with each other in the popular thought, until a complete pantheon of gods was established as the country was unified, under the supreme control of one of these cities. This took place at least as early as 2,000 years before the Christian era.

The Assyrian religion, somewhat younger in its development than that of Babylonia, was from the beginning

more unified, so far as we can judge, and the supreme power lay from the first in one chief city, carrying with it, in the religious thought of the people, the control of the country by one chief god. I say this is the earliest form of their historic religion, this city religion. There are, however, indications in the literature that there was a yet earlier form, a kind of belief in spirits, less distinctly localized and personalized than these gods, — what is called technically, by students of religion, "animism," a belief in the atmosphere being populated with spirits, the earth and trees, and all objects, being alive with a certain divine power, and the combination, interchange and conflict of these various spirits bringing about various events upon the earth. This, however, is not an object of our historical study, because we have no longer any documents that date from that time, only some traces of it, in combination with the belief in these local gods to which I have referred.

I should like to speak, in the first place, of the religious institutions of Babylonia and Assyria, and then of their religious beliefs.

I. If we had been walking four thousand years ago in the streets of one of the Babylonian cities, such as Babylon or its twin city Borsippa, on the other side of the Euphrates, — related to it very much as Brooklyn is to Manhattan, — or in Nippur or Sippara, or in Ur, — the city from which it is very likely that the Hebrew emigration started — we should certainly have been impressed with the fact that religion was an important concern of life. In the smallest city we should have found at least one noble temple, in the larger cities many, sometimes crowding each other, rising above the mud huts in which the greater part of the populace lived, towering even over the larger houses of the generals and nobles, and rival-

ing if not surpassing the splendor and distinction of the king's palaces.

The most characteristic form of these temples was that of a pyramidal structure, formed of a series of platforms — three, four, sometimes as many as seven, one above the other, the upper platform a little smaller than the one below so as to give the effect of a series of huge steps as one looked at it from a distance. Near every one of these stood an altar, and at the top a chamber, inclosed, for the dwelling-place of the god. We should see priests in great numbers, moving about among those temples, and ascending from one platform to another from time to time. We should hear music, both of singing and of instruments, accompanying and forming a part of the worship. We might very likely meet a procession, passing through the narrow streets and crowding one into a doorway to get out of the path, of white-robed ministrants, bearing the image of a god and accompanying the march with singing and with the music of flutes and of rude harps. We could not fail to believe that religion, in the form of institution, was a matter with which the life of the people was very closely concerned. Great feast days of religious significance, we should find observed; sacrifices of large amount offered upon the altars; and even in private life, if we came into homes we should find sick people, with priests at their side, going through exorcisms in the name of deities; and we should find that in planning for life the religious relations of men had to be taken constantly into account.

Omens were taken as a necessary preparation for any great undertaking, and in all ways the religious habit was intertwined visibly with human life.

In Assyria the temples were for the most part of simpler form, — an oblong structure, with a chamber partitioned off at the end for the image of the deity and,

as in the other case, an altar standing out in front of this oblong building,—much more nearly resembling, then, the plan of the Hebrew temple which is familiar to us.

Images were necessary in every temple, and there stood in front of the temples pillars, two at least, which remind us of the two pillars set up by Solomon at the portico of his temple in Jerusalem.

There was also a great reverence for other sacred stones, apart from those that were thus made into pillars and set up in front of the temples. In one case we find a king of Babylonia who explored the ruins of an ancient temple, discovering the foundation stone of it, which, he says, was the veritable sanctuary of the Sun-God, the dwelling of his divinity. There seems to have been the conception that the essential quality of the god who was worshipped in the temple was to be found in the corner-stone of the temple, and resident within it; and it reminds us, in form at least, of Jacob's experience at Bethel, — Jacob who gave the name of Bethel, "House of God," to the stone upon which his head had lain during the night.

Not only were there priests, but there were also priestesses. The exact function of the priestesses we do not yet know in detail, but they seem to have formed a natural part of the temple company and to have had some definite purpose in relation to the worship.

Sacrifice was of many kinds; animal sacrifice frequent and abundant; and not only domestic animals but even wild animals; the products of the chase were offered upon the altars of the great temples. This seems to have been an inheritance from Arabia, where the same thing was practiced among the heathen Arabs before the time of Islam. There were, however, besides these, vegetable sacrifices of various kinds, grain and fruit; honey was offered as well. In addition to the vegetable offerings there were libations, — libations sometimes of wine but

very frequently of water, perhaps because, in a country so dependent upon irrigation, the conception of water as one of the most valuable elements in life led to its use and worship.

The question has been raised whether human sacrifice was practiced, and in regard to that we do not know. There is no clear evidence that in Babylonia or Assyria human sacrifice was ever a part of the common ritual. There seem to have been cases where burials at the foundations of temples or other buildings were practiced, but whether or not that was connected with any form of sacrifice of human beings we are not able to say.

Prayer was an important part of worship, and we have in the literature many prayers, some of them most profound and earnest — even noble in their conceptions, the desires of the people rising in a stream of eloquent words to the deities whom they conceived as above them. There are even prayer-books, collections of prayers such as were used in the different temples.

Music, as I have said, both vocal and instrumental, formed a common part of worship.

A word more in regard to omens. One of the great functions of the priests was to take the omens; they resembled the Roman priests in this. These omens were doubtless of various kinds, but the most elaborate that we know anything about were omens which took the form of an examination of the inwards of the animals sacrificed, particularly of sheep and particularly of the liver. So much was this the case that we find representations on the monuments of the liver of a sheep, diagrammed, marked off into many different squares or divisions, each one of them with a certain significance, and the appearance of spots upon one of these divisions or another, the health or disease manifesting itself in one part or another of this liver, and various other indica-

tions, determined whether or not the enterprise on behalf of which the omen was taken was to be successful or disastrous. It is most elaborate, and I could take an hour or two in going into the details of this omen observation by means of the liver.

Then, too, conjuration, exorcism, formed a very large part of the work of priests. As I shall point out in a moment, the conception of being under the influence of a harmful power, either a power essentially evil or the power of a god who had become angry with his worshippers, led to a resort to the exorcist, and the exorcist was a priest, and the modes of exorcism are very elaborate and often intricate. We have many of them, — long formulas covering pages when they are translated into English, and printed in one of our books. These illustrations of belief in a supernatural world, even with perverted views of that world, involve some of the profound convictions of the Babylonians and Assyrians.

One institution I must speak of particularly in a word, because of its great interest for us to-day. The question has been discussed over and over again, whether or not the institution of the Sabbath, which, under the priestly arrangement of the Hebrew religion, played such an important part in the division of time and in the observance of religious functions, can be connected with any phenomena in Babylonia. We actually have what seems to be the same word with the Hebrew "shabbath," "shabatu" in the Babylonian language; and it is applied apparently to certain specific days, and the interval between those days is, at least in some cases, a seven-day period — or a six-day period. The seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first and twenty-eighth day of certain months, at least, seem to have been days marked for special religious observance.

We are not perfectly sure that the name "shabatu"

was applied to those particular days, but it may have been so. We find, also, a definition of "shabatu" as "a day of pacification of heart," which seems to refer to some special ceremonies of a religious kind designed to placate deities, pointing to religious observances of a peculiar sort upon those days. There is one tablet on which the wedge-writing, which has been read, seems to connect this shabatu or "Sabbath" (?) — if we may take it so with a question mark — with the fifteenth day of a given month; that is to say, with the day of the full moon, and all these indications go to show that we have in the Babylonian religion, not so much anything like the Sabbath, full-fledged, so to say, — a complete institution regularly recurring, — as the adumbrations and suggestions of a similar observance, with a name which was becoming attached to some such holy day. The continuous week, from Sabbath to Sabbath, going on through the year without interruption, is not found in Babylonia. Its seven-day periods are confined to the requirements of one month, and begin over again at the beginning of the next month, so that always the seventh and fourteenth days of the month have the specific religious observances; and if the name "Sabbath" can be applied to them at all it must be applied to them in that relation, as divisions of a month and not as continuous seven-day periods throughout the year. It is quite plain, then, that we cannot regard the Hebrew Sabbath as borrowed directly from the Babylonian Sabbath, but there are suggestions of the way in which the Sabbath observance may have gradually grown up until finally the impress of divine sanction was put upon it among the Hebrew people.

II. Under the head of "beliefs" there are two divisions, the first of which I shall have to pass over very briefly; — what may be called the mythological conceptions of the Babylonians and Assyrians. To this cate-

gory belong the beliefs of the Babylonians in regard to Creation and to the Flood, and to the function of the great dragon, and others of that kind; because these were all interwoven with views in regard to deities which are distinctly of a mythological character, an embodiment of ideas and in no sense the representation of historical events, although the Babylonians themselves may have believed them to be the representation of historical events.

There is a very distinct literary connection between the stories of the Creation and the Flood, and perhaps, even of the development of the serpent idea, in Babylonia and in Israel. Especially is this evident in the case of the Flood, where we have the same rescue of a few persons from a great catastrophe by water; the saving of animals; the sending out of birds; the resting of the vessel at the expiration of the rise of the waters, and the emerging and sacrificing to deity. I say there is a distinct literary connection. There can be no question to any student of these documents that there is somehow a relationship between the story of the Flood, and probably of the Creation also, that we have in Genesis, and that in the Babylonian records. The religious connection, however, is much less clear, because the polytheism, and all that is low and unworthy, and all the exuberance of miraculous detail, have disappeared from the stories as they come before us in the book of Genesis. They are possessed by a new spirit; they are the vehicle of a new religion.

It has been thought by some that there are traces of Babylonian influence even in the New Testament. I can only say that it is no doubt true, that in the Apocalypse, — the book of Revelation, — the imagery is, to a considerable degree, borrowed from a common stock of Oriental imagery which had its origin in Babylonia, but, again, that the religious ideas which are expressed by

that imagery are of a totally different kind. It is *imagery,* not the transfer of religion. As far as the belief that the stories of the Gospels are dependent in any way upon the Babylonian myths is concerned, without going into details for which there is no time, I have to express my conviction, which is the result of careful and dispassionate study, that there is no foundation for this belief.

A few words, then, lastly, about the characteristic doctrines of this great religion. Deity, to the Babylonians and Assyrians, is personality, but personality greater than man, transcendent personality, — to use long and technical words. Deity is conceived under many forms. There is a definite polytheism, — many gods, many embodiments of the divine idea. There is no real monotheism in Babylonia or in Assyria. We find the gods grouped. There are certain triads, — gods that appear in threes, Anu, Bel and Ea, the oldest of such groups that we know, with the Moon God and the Sun God and the great Goddess Ishtar, the embodiment of one of the planets, as a secondary group.

In Assyria the great god Assur dominates all the rest, although we find the same deities that are familiar to us in Babylonia appearing also there. They are, for the most part, personifications of the powers of Nature; either of the heavenly bodies, or the sky, the earth and the sea themselves, or some great forces, like storm, lightning and the like, occasionally of human passions, and the resulting conflicts of men, a war god, for example, as with many peoples. The chief characteristic of these deities is that of power. They are conceived because men feel that there is something stronger than they in the world, before which they stand in awe. That is a very common source of religion among primitive peoples, and it certainly appears to have been so among the Babylonians and Assyrians, evidenced, for example,

in creation, evidenced in dealing with masses of men, the progress of armies, the rise and fall of empires, — all of these are referred to the power of gods. Wisdom also is a characteristic of deity, evidenced in the impartation of knowledge, in the inventions and arts of men, and in the actual guidance of human affairs; kings reign by the wisdom which is imparted to them by God.

There is also a very high sense of justice, equity; the law codes which we have from the Babylonians, breathe in many parts a noble spirit of fair dealing as between man and man. And, besides, there is the profounder conception of compassion, of forgiveness, of graciousness, of friendliness on the part of deities toward their human worshipers. This is especially apparent in connection with sin, for there is a very deep sense of sin in the Babylonian literature. Sin and suffering are closely related, and it is not always easy to distinguish between the physical suffering and the sin which is conceived as the occasion of it. Both of them find strong expression in what are called the penitential psalms of Babylonia, the outpourings to deity of the feeling of the heart when a man is overcome with a sense of his guilt, brought home to him by the fact that he is a sufferer from disease. The same combination we find in our book of Psalms; for example, the 32d Psalm; it is very difficult to distinguish in that psalm between the purely spiritual sense of sin and the present physical suffering of the sinner.

Propitiation is possible, and substitution occurs occasionally, although it is rare. It is generally in a case of exorcism, where an animal is substituted for the man who is suffering from the evil influence of deity in order that he may be freed from it himself. Propitiation is usually almost equivalent to purification, and there is very seldom a clear line of demarcation between the two.

The earth is the scene of human life. The conception

of life hereafter is very much like that of the early Hebrews, a vague existence without clear consciousness, in the under-world, to which men go after death, when the body is laid in the grave, and in which whatever existence is carried on thereafter finds its gloomy home. To be carried away to dwell forever with the gods in joy is a rare privilege to which few attain.

There is no general doctrine of salvation, no doctrine of resurrection, no conception of a future life of glory and conscious satisfaction as open to mankind. Particularism, and the absence of any sense of human brotherhood, mark Babylonian religion, as they do many other ancient religions. And the great fundamental difference between Babylonian religion and that of Israel, apart from the question of polytheism — which is not, after all, a fundamental difference, because the ancestors of the Hebrews were polytheists, — is that in Babylonia religion does not grow.

Joshua xxiv reminds us that the fathers of Israel beyond the river served other gods. But Israel left that stage behind. The great difference is that in the Babylonian religion there is no seed of progress. The Babylonians and Assyrians never left their many gods behind. The religion four thousand and five thousand years ago is the same as the religion twenty-five hundred years ago. There is no advance from a lower to a higher. There is no preparation for a new and transforming stage. In that respect the difference between the religion of Israel and the religion of Babylonia and Assyria is world-wide, because primitive as Israel's religion at first was, rudimentary as it appears at the early beginnings of it, tainted with superstition and with error as it certainly was even into later generations, we do find that it had the seeds of growth, it went on from the lower to the higher, it prepared the people and prepared mankind for the complete and satisfying revelation in Jesus Christ.

VII

SOME RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF THE EGYPTIANS

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As one sits on the upper deck of a Nile steamer and looks to the deck below, one may see an Arab with turbaned head, spreading a mat upon which he bows facing the East. As one journeys through the desert one may see his camel-driver or his dragoman spread his mat on the sand and prostrate himself upon it facing toward Mecca. Both of the men repeat a litany and mumble prayers to the god who alone is god, and whose prophet Mohammed claimed to be.

These men are only examples of what may be seen daily at stated hours all over the Levant where the religion of Islam is professed, and it is a worship which finds multitudes of faithful adherents.

This statement is made to illustrate a fact emphasized by Dr. Washburn of Robert College, near Constantinople, recently, that the thought of God and the practice of his worship is more a matter of constant habit and of personal consciousness in the East than in the West. At certain hours of day and night the wonderfully musical call to prayer, the muezzin of the minaret of every mosque of Mohammed, is sent out over the land to call the faithful to prayer. Multitudes hear and obey when they hear; multitudes do not hear and yet obey.

It was a striking phrase used by the Psalmist (x, 4) when he described the wicked, saying that "God is not in

all their thoughts." In a word, the consciousness of the divine is a more striking characteristic of East than of West.

And we must go a long way back in order to find the beginning of this state of affairs. One of the oldest civilizations which has left monuments and records, is that of the land of the Nile. Volume after volume of inscriptions has been printed, and a small library of translations has been published, but the whole of them with few exceptions are made up of texts that have a religious significance. Professor Breasted, of Chicago, has gathered the historical texts of Egypt into four octavo volumes, containing less than 1600 pages, text and comment; but the religious texts outnumber the historical a hundred to one at the least. This illustrates in a way the fact which was stated above, that the consciousness of the divine has ever been more real in the East than in the West.

This is not to pass judgment upon the relation of religious consciousness to moral actions. The man whom you see praying on the fore deck may cheat you an hour later by selling you a bogus scarab while swearing by Allah that it is genuine. You are a foreigner, a disbeliever, and hence a fair prey. It is a lack of moral correlation from which he suffers; it may be that the difference in faith and in worldly condition seems a sufficient justification. Be that as it may, the fact stands that the Oriental is more ostentatiously pious than the Occidenal.

We may go as far back as we will in the history of Egypt, and we find there monuments and records which point only in one direction: belief in divine power, or at least in some superhuman forces, and a belief in a life beyond the present. To these beliefs we owe almost all that has come down to us from Egyptian antiquity. A

very small part of all that the Egyptians wrought can be traced to other causes. Temples are now in ruins, but they testify to a belief in the gods of the Egyptian pantheon, numberless and varied. Tombs testify to belief in a life to come and to a continued personal existence and consciousness. That the implements of daily life were deposited with the dead, indicates that the conception of that life was that it would be similar to the life here. The books that were placed with the dead as guides and monitors in the dangers that beset the journey to the great hereafter, these books are the ones that give us an insight into the beliefs and practices of the pious Egyptian.

Most of that which is to be said at this time upon the beliefs of the Egyptians, will have to do with these things rather than with the gods whom they worshiped. A single paper does not give one space in which to talk about even the chief of the pantheon of Egypt. A chapter would be readily exhausted in cataloguing the chief deities and in tracing only a few of the changes which they underwent in the course of a development that lasted 3000 or 4000 years. There were local gods which had a tutelary relation to town, city or district. There were local gods which grew in influence or lost prestige as the town grew to a capital or shrank to a village. There were gods which were sun-gods or moon-gods, and testified to the conception of and veneration for the celestial bodies. There were gods with powers of evil, which must be appeased. There were good demons whose influence was exerted for the help of man in distress or suffering. There were gods whose symbol was an animal, a crocodile, a hawk, a cat. The jackal, which prowled in burial places and in the desert, was the symbol of Anubis, the god of the dead. Besides, there was a multitude of other gods, moral and immoral, who were

in a constant state of flux, the one absorbing the characteristics of the other, till the limit of syncretism was reached. This progress is well illustrated in the case of the Theban god Amon, which from being a minor local divinity grew into a being of wonderful power as Thebes became the royal and political capital.

There is one goddess worthy of particular mention, who does not fall under any of the categories mentioned above. She represents an abstract idea which plays a large part in the conceptions of the Egyptians, and whose symbol was the ostrich feather. Her name was Maat, and she was the personification of "Truth." Her symbol figures in the judgment scene as the counterpoise against the heart of the dead when it is weighed to determine the future fate of the departed. To this we shall return later.

All lands have had a mythology, and Egypt was no exception; but a complete myth can hardly be found in the hieroglyphic records. We have a story of the destruction of mankind by a flood, but it is meager and fragmentary. The myth of Osiris is long and significant, but we have to implore the aid of the Greek Plutarch to fill out the gaps in the story. The texts are full of references to the gods and to certain characteristics which are not explained, but which must go back to some mythological background for their elucidation.

The fact is that the subject of the gods of Egypt is too vast for a satisfactory treatment in a single paper or a single lecture.

On the other hand, the Egyptian belief with regard to man and his future is comparatively simple and intelligible. Changes came, no doubt, and advances were made. But the fundamentals remained, and in a single fact we can find explanations of many practices which seem to us passing strange.

Why was so much trouble taken to preserve the body

in semblance of its earthly shape? Why were the pyramids erected, those immense masses of solid masonry which have defied the ages and which still constitute one of the wonders of the world? Why were tombs cut in the solid rock at the bottom of deep pits, sometimes as much as sixty or seventy feet below the surface, or, as in the case of some of the XVIII dynasty kings, at the end of sloping tunnels which pierce the mountains from 600 to 900 feet? This wonderful procedure is inexplicable until we have the key, but the key opens the lock and reveals the secret. The key is simple and the wonder disappears. The practice which seemed so odd at first is simple and obvious.

The Egyptians did not hold to a division of the human being into two parts or even into three, soul and body, or body, soul and spirit. To him there were seven constituents of man, four of which are particularly of interest. The obvious part was the body (Xa) *Kha.* It was this by means of which man enjoyed the good things of life; with its eyes he saw beauty, with its hands he felt objects, with its feet he walked, with its ears he heard, with its nose he smelled savors, and with its mouth he tasted that which was sweet and good. In a word, it was the body which made life worth living, and a continued existence, in which he believed, would be robbed of its attractiveness and its joyous delights if the body did not exist and become the renewed habitation of the soul. But when death came the body was still and cold. If left to itself it soon lost all semblance to its former shape, and became an object of disgust and abhorrence. Of course it became impossible as an abode for the re-incarnate spirit.

Added to this was the belief in a *Ka,* a double, a duplicate of the man himself, but immaterial and ethereal. In some medieval drawings and sculptures the departing soul is represented in diminutive shape, escaping from the

mouth of the dying. Similarly the Egyptian thought of the departure of the *Ka,* the genius, the double of the deceased. Since birth it had been beside the man more constant than his shadow. And along with the *Ka,* his intelligence, his Xu (*Khu*), and his soul, his *Ba,* had departed, and the ordinary conception was that these had gone in the shape of different birds. There were no bounds to the possibilities of their flight or their wanderings — there was only one condition. If that were met, their continued existence was assured; if not, they would cease to exist and go out into oblivion and nothingness. That one condition was the continued existence of the body, to which the soul and intelligence might return as to a refuge, revivifying it and making it live once more. The separation was temporary; but the body must be preserved in semblance of human form.

Hence the introduction of the mummifying process. The removal of the brain through an aperture at the back of the nostril, and the separate treatment of the vital organs and their preservation in separate jars or receptacles, quite apart from the body, were necessities in the case; quite incompatible with organic unity and vital function; but this seemed not to feaze the Egyptian in the least, for his theology contained already far more serious contradictions and combinations. After being soaked for a given time in natron (saltpeter), and after being wrapped in a sufficient number of cloths and bandages, the body assumed a shape like that of a man, and that sufficed. The product looked like a man and the soul had a refuge.

But still it was not safe. Ants or insects might destroy it. If buried in the sands jackals or hyenas might dig it up. If deeply buried beyond reach of these beasts, it would be subject to the depredations of robbers, particularly if filial piety or the commands of the deceased had

required that the personal adornments of the dead be retained in their usual place. To avoid all of these dangers deep pits with lateral burial chambers were arranged, and afterward the pits were filled with loose stone and earth. But even these expedients frequently failed, and in following ages most of the pit tombs were rifled by plunderers. Some, however, have escaped till now, and it was my singular good fortune in 1907 to stand at the mouth of such a pit and see a chamber opened which had not seen the light of day for probably at least 5000 years.

Tombs varied all the way from the gigantic pyramid of Cheops at Gizeh, the Mastaba tombs of nobles, and the pit tombs of the wealthy, to the sandy graves of the miserably poor whose hope of immortality was as meager and scanty as their lives had been. Continued existence thus became actually, though probably not theoretically, a matter dependent upon the wealth and resource of the individual, as provision for the costly process of mummifying and for the safeguarding of the mummy in expensive tombs, was proportioned to the ability of the man to pay. The longing for immortality might have been as strong in either case, but ability to meet the conditions differed by whole diameters.

It has seemed to me that I could not use the space now at my disposal better than by explaining some of the beliefs of the Egyptians as they are shown by the objects which are exhibited in our museums. The presentation does not pretend to be complete and exhaustive, but perhaps it will serve a practical and useful end in making more intelligible the things which one sees in going through the Egyptian gallery.

Let us follow the course of the Egyptian from the time when the great change occurred. First came the making of the mummy. The body was prepared by the removal

of the portions which were peculiarly subject to rapid disintegration. As already said, the brain was removed through a hole made in the back of the nostril where the bone is very thin. How it was accomplished we do not know with precision, but the absence of any substance except bitumen inside of the skull shows that it was done. The vital organs also were removed and preserved in bitumen. After being divided into four parcels they were distributed in the four "Canopic" jars (so called from the place where first found) which are to be seen in various sizes in our museum collections. They were usually made of stone, though wood and pottery were also employed. Alabaster was a favorite material, and some extant examples are very beautiful. Until the time of the XVIII dynasty the covers of these jars represented human heads, — frequently, if not usually, we may presume, portrait heads. Later it became the fashion to make the covers different, the heads being of a (1) man, (2) a hawk, (3) a jackal, and (4) a dog-headed ape. As time passed those jars became matter of form merely, and were not excavated. The late ones had not the capacity of a tea-cup. In these jars the vital organs were deposited, at least constructively, and the jars were placed in the tomb near to the bier on which the mummy was laid.

The preparation of the mummy itself has been described sufficiently already. The character of the tomb has been indicated in brief, its supposed freedom from violation being the quality most desired, whether it was in pyramid, pit or cavern cut in the side of a mountain. The hills back of Thebes are in places honeycombed with these burial-places, which are now frequently used as places of residence in hot weather.

With the dead there were deposited various articles which had been used or worn during life, or models of such things as were too large or too valuable to be lost

in this way to the living. In many cases the jewels of the dead were arranged on their persons in fashion similar to that in life. A mummy recently found by the excavators for the Metropolitan Museum, had three garments beneath the outer wrapping, and outside of each layer was a necklace more or less elaborate, made of gold links or beads. Implements used in life were included: for instance, one held a piece of slate stone which had been used to rub the green color employed to paint the body; another had a leather bag. Jars and vases containing food and drink, were supposed to ward off hunger and thirst. Implements of the chase were to provide the means of hunting and of defense from enemies. Checkerboards for a game of draughts were to wile away the time. Hairpins and combs are found, with which the dead were to make their toilets as in life. Boats, either of wood or pottery, were to enable the dead to pass over the streams or seas which surrounded the abodes of the blessed. Pottery animals are found, cows to be slain for food, hippopotami to be hunted; model houses filled with servants who are performing the routine duties of the household, have been thus preserved.

The walls of the tombs are also frequently covered with similar scenes, the sowing and gathering of grain, herding and slaughtering of cattle, the catching of wild fowl in nets, and the bringing of specimens of farm produce. Sometimes inventories of the possessions of the deceased proprietor are given. In fact, from these tomb-reliefs we learn many of the particulars of private life in the Nile valley upwards of five thousand years ago.

Among the most interesting of the objects thus deposited with the dead were the small figures in human shape known as Ushabtis or "Answerers." They were made of wood, stone or pottery. The latter were made of red clay painted to indicate the garments in vogue, or,

more frequently, of a sandy frit baked in a fire so hot as to reduce the sand and to cover the outside with a glaze, usually blue. In our Museum there is one in which the space for the name of the deceased is left blank, thus showing that it was part of an undertaker's stock in trade, ready to be bought, but never properly marked with the name of the man for whom it was purchased. Similarly there have been found copies of the "Book of the Dead," the most sacred of the Egyptian holy books, from which the owner's name had been omitted.

The story of the Ushabti or "Answerer" is interesting. It was the substitute representation of a servant. Instead of killing a slave that he might go with his dead master into the future life and there serve him as he had done in this life, it was found that it was far more economical and much more to the advantage of those who remained alive, to allow the substitution of a figure of the servant. Besides, it was feasible to increase the number of servants indefinitely in this way, and, in fact, they have been found ranging in number from a few specimens up to six or seven hundred. The significance of the name "answerer" is found in the inscription usually written or engraved in a more or less abbreviated form in columns or bands on the mummy shaped body of the figure. In its complete form the inscription is taken from the Sixth chapter of the "Book of the Dead." Thus: "O statuette there! Should I be called and appointed to do any of the labors that are done in the nether world by a person according to his abilities, lo! all obstacles have been beaten down for thee; be thou counted for me at every moment, for planting the fields, for watering the soil, for conveying the sands of east and west." (The figure replies:) "Here am I, whithersoever thou callest me." (Renouf.) These figures are usually in shape of a mummy, but with face and hands free. The hands hold the implements of

agriculture, and over the back is slung a bag indicated by incised lines.

When prepared for burial the mummy was transferred to the west side of the Nile, where the tombs were for the most part located. The river ferry was supposed to typify the passage into the regions of the blessed, which was located in the west where the sun disappeared after his daily course, and where he began his nightly journey to the place of his daily rising.

The beliefs of the Egyptians as to the place of the future life are interesting in their way, but they are too long and complicated for exposition in so brief a paper as this. But there are some items which had an interest as showing the moral standards of the ancient Nile dwellers. These are contained for the most part in the 125th chapter of the Book of the Dead, already mentioned as one of their chief sacred books. We owe the preservation of this work to the fact that copies, more or less full and complete, were put in the tomb with the mummy to serve as a sort of guide or *vade mecum* during the journey of the dead to the fields of blessedness, a journey that was beset by many and varied dangers. Many portals had to be passed, which only opened when certain formulae were uttered. Ferocious beasts and deadly serpents infested the path, against which magical forms of words were effective.

But the test which was applied to all and through which each must pass successfully in order to attain to future joys, was that in which must be recited the so-called "Negative Confession" before the forty-two gods who sat in the hall of justice, the place of "Truth."

When the deceased man comes to this point in his progress toward future bliss, he says: "Hail to thee! mighty lord, god of righteousness! I am come to thee, O my lord; I have brought myself that I may look upon

thy glory. I know thee, and I know the names of the forty-two gods who make their appearance with thee in the Hall of Righteousness; devouring those who harbor mischief, and swallowing their blood, upon the day of the searching examination in the presence of Unnefer"....

The chief judge is there described in a name which must have a mythological meaning, possibly referring to Isis and Nephthys, the sisters of Osiris, god of the dead. The name is "Thou of the pair of eyes, Lord of Righteousness." The utterance of a name had magical force in many instances, serving as a sort of password and a protection from the evils which might befall the ignorant.

The dead then recited a list of things which he had *not* done, from which the following selections are made:

"Here am I; I am come to thee; I bring to thee right and have put a stop to wrong.
"I am not a doer of wrong to men.
"I am not one who slayeth his kindred.
"I am not one who telleth lies instead of truth.
"I am not conscious of treason.
"I am not a doer of mischief . . . . .
"I am not a transgressor against the god.
"I am not a talebearer.
"I am not a detractor.
"I am not a doer of that which the gods abhor.
"I hurt no servant with his master.
"I cause no famine.
"I cause not weeping.
"I am not a murderer.
"I cause not suffering to men.
"I reduce not the offerings in the temples.
"I rob not the dead of their funereal food."——

and many more of similar tenor, indicating that the dead desires to be regarded as a model man.

Next the candidate must pass before the forty-two judges, and address the proper words to each in turn. I shall quote a few of these as given by Renouf or Budge in their translations of the Book of the Dead, from which

the quotations already made have been taken. These judges are usually seated in rows with the appropriate salutation written next to each. It will be seen that it was no easy task to recite all of these formulae; there was nothing in the figure of a god to indicate the particular attributes which he possessed. Their forms are frequently grotesque, many being composed of human body with the head of a beast, a crocodile, ram, jackal, dog, serpent, hawk or cow. Each one was supposed to have a particular department of human conduct under his charge, but the connection between the epithets applied to a god and the act whose commission is denied, is very remote or wholly obscure.

Following are some of the items of the "Negative Confession" entire, with both the address to the god and the special form of wrongdoing which is repudiated:

"1. Hail! thou whose strides are long, who cometh forth from Heliopolis: I have not done iniquity."

"2. Hail! thou who art embraced by fire, who cometh forth from Kher-aha: I have not robbed with violence."

"4. Hail! thou who eatest shades, who cometh from the place where the Nile riseth: I have not committed theft."

"6. Hail! thou double lion-god, who cometh forth from heaven: I have not made light the bushel."

"7. Hail! thou whose two eyes are like flint, who cometh forth from Sekhem; I have not acted deceitfully."

And so the catalogue goes on, containing names which are hard to explain because they come from a range of mythological lore of which we are ignorant for the most part. In fact, this is the difficulty with much of the writing which has been preserved to us. We do not know the particular incidents in the supposed lives of the gods, the special attributes which they were supposed to possess and a thousand and one details which might explain the allusions that are made with bewildering frequency.

Our interest from the human side, however, is not in

the fantastic deities which the Egyptian placed in his gallery of gods, but is in the moral standards which were indicated by the lists of things which were repudiated. Personal purity finds its place in the list, but the chief places are taken by the denial of deeds which find their effects in damage to one's fellow-man and in acts in defiance of or to the detriment of the gods.

Among the former may be included these: theft, murder, cheating by light weights, deceit, falsehood, evil speaking, assault, damage to cultivated land, the act of the busybody, slander, unrighteous wrath, imposition, opposition to justice, contention and strife, injustice, abuse, violence, hasty judgment, fondness for talk, cursing the king, pollution of the water supply, insolence, pride, unjust gain: these evil things are denied in the order indicated above, the list being without special order or discoverable logical sequence.

There are also denials of deeds against the gods interspersed, such as denial of theft of things belonging to the gods, of the killing of sacrificial animals, of encroaching upon sacred times and seasons, of taking vengeance upon the god, of cursing the god, and of thinking scorn of the god of the city.

There is no doubt that the man who could repeat this long catalogue with truth, would be a good and useful citizen, at all events one who would escape the censure of his neighbors. The implication is that his deeds had been of the opposite character, and that his life had been of a sort for positive good and benefit.

From an early period of Egyptian history we have a book of moral precepts by a sage called Ptah-hotep, which inculcates the duties of man to man in positive fashion. Combined with the implied lessons of this part of the Egyptian litany we have a background of moral teaching which rose to a remarkably high level.

Connected with this same 125th chapter of the Book of the Dead, from which the foregoing quotations were made, there is a picture which represents the Judgment scene in realistic form. The deceased and his wife appear at the left side, dressed in white, and bowing toward the hall of judgment. In the center is a large scales or balance with two pans, on one of which is the truth-feather, the emblem of the goddess Maat, and on the other is the heart of the dead in its conventionalized shape. Beneath the beam of the balance stands the god Anubis, the jackal-headed deity of the dead, testing the scales and weighing the man's heart. On the top of the scales is the dogheaded ape, perhaps a mere ornament, but probably typifying some quality which we can only conjecture. On the left are the two gods of birth. At the end of the scales above those deities is the soul of the departed represented as a bird, and under one branch of the scales is the *Ka,* the genius or double of the dead. At the right is the erect figure of the ibis-headed god Thoth, the god of learning and wisdom, who now is acting as the scribe and recorder, palette and brush in hand ready to write down the result of the weighing process which Anubis is conducting. Behind Thoth is the beast whose function is the devouring of the wicked, whose fate is symbolically determined by the weighing of heart against the truth-feather. He is a composite beast with the head of a crocodile, the forequarters of a lion, and the haunches of a hippopotamus. Truly a beast to typify a most terrible and ghastly fate.

Perhaps space remains for one other topic within the limits set for me. That topic is *magic* and some of its manifestations and symbols, particularly the latter. There have been preserved to us whole books which are filled with tales, most of which have a magical feature. Among them is the "Tale of two Brothers," in some particulars

reminding one of the story of Joseph. Magical transformations are invoked to extricate the hero from his dilemmas. One of the early kings causes stories of magic to be told to him to wile away the time and to relieve his ennui.

But in popular life the evidence of belief in magic is seen in the multitude of amulets which were used and which fill our museum cases with duplicates. Figures of the four genii of the dead were fastened upon the mummy to symbolize the protection which they were implored to give. A representation of an eye, sometimes doubled or even quadrupled, was supposed to possess some power, possibly warding off the evil eye, which played so important a part in the East, but more likely to symbolize one of the sisters of Osiris, who are usually portrayed as weeping for the dead. Figures of animals are found in profusion, each symbolizing the qualities belonging to the deity who had chosen a particular animal form as his special embodiment. Thus we have the cat, the jackal, the ibis, the crocodile, and in fact a whole menagerie forming a zoölogical pantheon whose explanation would take a series of volumes.

One of these must be singled out for special mention on account of the frequency of its occurrence and of the interest aroused by its queer shape and character. It is the beetle — the scarab — as it is usually called. Our museums contain them in almost unlimited numbers, and they are seen frequently set in scarf pins, rings, and other articles of personal adornment (though it is to be feared that a large proportion of those thus worn are fabrications of very recent date).

The scarab is a beetle, commonly called a dung-beetle or a tumble-bug, which is found in profusion in the sands of Egypt and elsewhere. The egg from which it was hatched was hidden in the hot sand, and in due course

the bug appeared, working his own way to the surface and starting on his own independent career. No one saw the egg deposited; the parentage was obscure. The bug was like Topsy, it "just growed." The figure of the beetle when used as a hieroglyphic sign had the most appropriate significance imaginable; it meant "to be, to exist," and finally it came to symbolize *absolute being*. The bug was reproduced in various substances, metal, stone, pottery or paste, with appropriate markings of head and wings above and of legs curved in at the sides and under the shell. When used as an amulet alone the bottom was sometimes left curved and the legs doubled up in relief from side to side. But usually the bottom was smoothed off and used for inscriptions of various sorts. Very many were used as seals, for the seal has always played an important part in Oriental life, a string of seals being a badge of office similar to the bunch of keys of the housewife. Others were used as amulets, pure and simple; and as such were apparently regarded as insuring the continued existence of their wearer. A few of large size have been found which contain historical texts, like the one in which a Pharaoh tells of his lion-hunting exploits, and how he killed "110 lions, fierce ones!" Many more contain the names of kings, but it is more than doubtful whether they were contemporary monuments. One of the strangest uses to which they were put was in their substitution for the heart of the dead, being inclosed in the wrappings of the mummy.

The subject of the religion of the Egyptians constitutes a field too broad to be covered short of a whole series of lectures. It has simply been my object to select from the mass some items which may possess a degree of interest and which may make a visit to a museum more interesting and intelligible.

VIII

THE RELIGION OF THE EARLY TEUTONS[1]

By Professor Frederick H. Wilkens

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A presentation of the subject of Primitive Teutonic Religion is attended with considerable difficulties. The religion of the early Germans belongs to a more primitive type than any other religion treated in this work. It has left no trace. The spiritual as well as the dogmatic elements of the religious life of the Germanic peoples of to-day are derived from the Orient, from Judaism and

[1] It is impossible to give here a bibliography of the mass of special research that must form, directly or indirectly, the basis of even a short presentation of the subject. I refer simply to the best modern treatise of the subject in English, Professor B. J. Vos's translation of Chantepie de la Saussaye, The Religion of the Teutons, Boston, Ginn & Co., 1902. A recent authoritative treatment in German is E. Mogk, Germanische Mythologie, Strassburg, 1907. A smaller work by the same author and having the same title, published in the 'Sammlung Goeschen,' Leipzig, 1906, gives a popular treatment of the subject. Tacitus' Germania may be studied in the scholarly edition of Professor A. Gudeman, Boston, Allyn & Bacon. Norse Mythology has been treated in numerous works, to suit the taste of every class of readers, especially since the subject became popularized through Richard Wagner's great trilogy, the Ring of the Nibelungs. A work interesting to the serious student is The Elder or Poetic Edda, Part I, The Mythological Poems, edited and translated with Introduction and Notes by Olive Bray, London, 1908.

No consideration has been given in this lecture to the lower levels of Germanic Mythology, such as belief in elfs, dwarfs, giants, ghosts, nightmares and their various derivatives. Interesting as these may be not only to the student of religions but also to the folk-lorist, the student of literature, and even the general reader, they lie aside too far from the main interest of this course of lectures to warrant treatment.

Christianity. The primitive Germanic religion is like a primeval forest whose rude grandeur has been laid low by the blows of the axe to make room for a more useful growth. Besides our information on the subject is scanty.

It would be a defect, however, in the general plan of the work if a consideration of the Teutonic religion had been omitted. For in this religion we have the primitive religion of the people of the United States as certainly as their language and civilization are derived from England, and as certainly as the Anglo-Saxons came from Germany to England. It was the ancestral religion of the Germans, the Dutch, the Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes who have made the United States their home during several centuries of national growth, infusing the blood of other Germanic races than the Anglo-Saxon. It is well to keep in mind that the English, and by inference the people of the United States, have the same claim to Teutonic mythology as the Germans of the Continent.

The fact has already been referred to that we have little information on our subject. No copious inscriptions, no sacred books, such as we possess for the Oriental religions, tell us of the beliefs of the ancient Teutons. No such inscriptions or books ever existed. It is true that in the last refuge of heathen belief, in the most distant region reached by a Germanic people during the Middle Ages, in bleak and inhospitable Iceland, the forms of Germanic mythology loom up in gigantic grandeur. The collection of poems known as the Poetic Edda is a unique monument, in its way, of Germanic antiquity. At one time the tendency prevailed to treat these Icelandic myths of the eighth and following centuries as veritable monuments of primitive Germanic conditions. Modern scholarship is more sceptical and finds in them much that is specifically Norse, and regards them as a

blending of ancient mythological conceptions and poetic fancy. But even so, Norse mythological literature is not only the richest quantitatively, it is also the only means we have of endowing with life and blood the rather shadowy and indistinct forms of the ancient gods of the southern Germans.

The ancient Germans and their country do not appear with any distinctness in the light of history before the time when the Romans came in contact with them. Caesar, in his conquest of Gaul, 58–51 B.C., clashed with the German tribes that were neighbors of the Gauls and even crossed the Rhine twice. He reports little about their religious beliefs in his account of the Gallic War, and this little does not harmonize with what we know from other sources. But several generations later, in the year 98 after Christ, the great historian Tacitus wrote a work on the Germans and their country which is justly considered the noblest monument of Germanic antiquity. In this work known generally under the title "Germania" Tacitus makes some statements about the gods worshiped by the Germans. The information contained in the "Germania" is supplemented by information in the historical works of Tacitus himself and other authors, Greek and Roman, who had occasion to refer to the Germans, that fought Rome as equal foes and finally, breaking through the barriers, swept in constantly repeated waves over the vast extent of the Empire. Names of deities also occur in Latin inscriptions on altars and votive stones erected by German soldiers serving in the Roman army or by Germans living under Roman rule on the left bank of the Rhine. Some information is also furnished later by Christian writers who, in attacking the hated pagan beliefs, give us a glimpse of them. Finally, popular traditions and superstitions which have per-

sisted through centuries, often to the present day, may afford astonishing revelations of very ancient belief.

From these sources just mentioned we discover that the ancient Germans worshiped in particular three gods, whom the Romans identified with their gods, Mars, Mercury, and Hercules. Such identifications were made on the basis of slight and superficial similarities so that these Roman designations, taken by themselves, would not advance our knowledge very materially. Now it is a singular fact, considering the obscurity that surrounds questions of Germanic mythology, that the interpretation can be given on the basis of information readily accessible to every one. At some time of the Christian Era, possibly at the end of the third century, the Roman week of seven days was introduced among the Germans. In accepting it they substituted their own gods for the Roman deities whose names entered into the designation of the various days. These Germanic names of the days of the week have been generally preserved in languages of Germanic stock. Taking the English for example we find that the day of Mars, Latin Martis dies (French Mardi), is Tuesday, Anglo-Saxon Tîwesdaeg, while the day of Mercury, Latin Mercuris dies (French Mercredi), is Wednesday, Anglo-Saxon Wodenesdaeg. We thus discover that the Mars of the Germans is the god Anglo-Saxon Tîw, Old High German Ziu (Primitive Germanic Tiwaz or Tiuz), while Mercury is Anglo-Saxon Wôden, Old High German Wôtan (Primitive Germanic Wôdanaz). The third god, Hercules, does not occur in the list of the Roman days. But there can be little doubt that the Hercules of Tacitus is identical with Anglo-Saxon Thunor, Old High German Donar (Primitive Germanic Thunaraz), all forms of English 'thunder' and clearly indicating a god of thunder. His name survives in Thursday, Old High German Donar-

estac, Modern High German Donnerstag. This word is the Germanic rendering of the Latin Jovis dies (French jeudi), and at a later period than that of Tacitus Thunor is directly identified with Jove, for both wield the thunderbolt. Tacitus and other early writers seem to have hesitated to identify a Germanic deity with the supreme god of the Greeks and Romans, while at a later period, when Christianity prevailed, such an identification would be made without hesitation. Tacitus identified Thunor with Hercules, as far as we can see, because both had in common extraordinary strength; and as Hercules carried a club so Thunor wielded against his enemies a hammer of irresistible force.

We have dwelt at some length on the significance of the names of the week days. They are the most striking survivals we possess at the present day of our ancestral beliefs.

Among the three principal deities of the Germans Tîw has perhaps a claim on our attention before the others. The name is identical with or closely related to that of the god of heaven in a number of cognate languages, the Sanskrit Dyâus, the Greek Ζεύς, the Latin Ju-piter. The inference is that Tîw was at one time a god of heaven and brightness. In Norse mythology this god has been relegated to a position of comparative insignificance, but traces of his ancient dignity are perceptible. At the time of Tacitus Tîw had become, as we would naturally infer from his identification with Mars, a god of war. This change must have taken place when the Germans developed those warlike qualities that made them a feared enemy of their Celtic neighbors to the west and south, long before the Roman power extended to the Rhine.

In Chapter 39 of his "Germania" Tacitus gives an account of the worship of a god whose name he does not

mention. It is believed on good grounds that this god was Tiw. He tells us that the Semnones, a tribe of the Swêbi (dwelling at this time in the region where now stands the capital of the German Empire), were accustomed to celebrate a religious festival of peculiar solemnity. At a fixed time delegates of all the tribes related by blood to the Semnones, that is all or part of the Swêbi, met in a sacred grove. The god that dwelt there was considered the founder of the race and supreme ruler of all things. The celebration opened with a barbarous practice; a human being was publicly sacrificed to the god. Another custom proclaimed the reverence in which the god was held. No one entered the grove without having his hands tied, proclaiming himself in this fashion to be the servant of the god. If he should stumble and fall to the ground he dare not rise again but must leave the grove by rolling along the ground.

Tacitus is an author who molds and fashions with a truly imperial temper the materials entering into his works, and his interests and those of his contemporaries were not in any way identical with ours. We do not receive all the information we desire, nor do we receive, what is vouchsafed to us, always in the form in which we would prefer it. But in his description of the worship of the Semnones, Tacitus succeeds in making us feel something of the spirit of awe and reverence that dwells in the forest sanctuary of the god. At all times during their history and even to-day the Germans feel a sentimental love for the forest which no other nation knows. We imagine that no temple, no conspicuous image stood between the god and his worshipers. At most a rude idol — Tacitus explicitly denies that the Germans had images of their gods, — or some symbol, or the effigy of an animal, impersonated the god or re-

minded of him. It is possible that the sword was sacred to Tîw; the worship of the sword is expressly attested for one of the tribes of the Swêbi. It is not necessary to point out how appropriate this symbol would be for a god of war. Tacitus speaks of the god of the Semnones as the ruler of all things. Modern scholarship would like to discover here a trace of the ancient dignity of Tîw as god of heaven, not as mere god of war. It is doubtful, however, whether Tacitus or the source from which he derived his information had any real insight into the nature of the god.

We are not in a position to deny the practice of human sacrifices among the ancient Germans. Incontrovertible evidence establishes the fact for the time preceding and following Tacitus, especially in connection with victories gained. Wôden and Thunor as well as Tîw were recipients of such sacrifices, all the three principal gods of the Germans being essentially gods of war. Human sacrifices are a characteristic of certain lower stages of religious development and this practice, so abhorrent to our feeling, should be judged in the light of this general consideration.

The god Thunor, after whom Thursday was named, was called Thor in Iceland and Norway. In these countries he was the most popular of the gods. Perhaps owing to this popular character there is something real and convincing about Thor, as if he were a historical personage that really trod this earth at some time: A long red beard framed his face, and with his powerful arm he wielded the hammer that brought destruction to the giants and other enemies of the gods. We fail to obtain any such clear vision of the Thunor of the early Germans. Like the Norse Thor, he seems to have been bearded and he undoubtedly carried that primitive weapon, the hammer. We surmise that to him, too, be-

longed some of the popularity that attaches to physical strength, when employed in the service of a good cause. According to Tacitus, the Germans on going into battle sang songs in his praise, as the strongest of all beings. Like the other German gods he was worshiped in groves, and trees were sacred to him. How tenaciously the people clung to the worship of Thunor is proved by an incident in the life of Saint Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon apostle of Christianity in Germany, who lived in the first half of the eighth century. In Hessia, which was largely Christian, at least nominally, an enormous oak of great age was the object of worship as being sacred to Thunor. Boniface caused it to be felled and proved that the god was powerless to revenge the indignity. A generation or two later the continental Saxons, who until then had been heathen, were forced by the victorious Charlemagne to abjure the worship of 'Thunor,' 'Wôden' and 'Saxnot' (apparently another name for Tîw). We see Thunor is mentioned in the first place. Among the Anglo-Saxons of England we find fewer traces of his worship.

The god whom the Romans called Mercury, the Anglo-Saxons Wôden, is possibly more familiar to the general reader than Tîw and Thunor. Those who are acquainted with the rich and poetic Norse mythology will feel tempted to transfer to the Wôden of the southern Teutons the lofty conception of the northern god (Norse Odin), a great and wise though not perfect head of the Norse Olympus. This view was indeed held by eminent authorities in past generations. Modern scholarship has come to the conclusion that Wôden did not originally hold any such exalted position. It is suspected that the development of the Wôden worship took place under the influence of the more civilized Celtic neighbors of Gaul, or of the Romans. The similarity between the religious

conceptions of the Germans and the Celts is often surprising. But even if we should not assume a direct influence of Celtic or Roman religion on the Wôden worship, still the influence of the higher civilization of the West and the South would naturally quicken the development of religious ideas. At Tacitus' time the worship of the god had already assumed great importance, and in one passage Tacitus mentions him as highly revered by the Germans, if not their most important god. It seems that his worship first attained importance among the tribes of northwestern Germany.

It is generally accepted that Wôden was originally a god or demon of the wind and tempest. This is an inference based primarily on an examination of legends and superstitions found to-day or in comparatively recent times among various Germanic peoples. It is astonishing what light is thrown on ancient religious beliefs by employing this method. In popular tradition Wôden appears, sometimes under other names, as the leader of a specter army that strikes terror to the heart of the lonely wanderer as it sweeps by him in the dark tempestuous nights of winter. In literature this popular superstition is best known in the form of the legend of the 'Wild Huntsman.' The 'Wild Huntsman' is identical with Wôden.

The specters of Wôden's following are the souls of the departed. It is a more or less general belief of primitive peoples that the soul leaving the body is identical with the breath departing at the moment of dissolution. The spirit escapes into the air and inhabits it; its presence is detected in the movements of the air, in the blasts of the wind and the tempest. The word Wôden is related by etymology to English wind, Latin ventus, so that the word indicates the original nature of the god. The fact that Wôden was the leader of

spirits may account for his identification with Mercury, whose duty it was to conduct souls to the realm of the departed; this is, however, not the only similarity between Wôden and Mercury. The spirits which Wôden leads must have some place from which they sallied forth, and mountains appropriately suggested themselves as their home. Mountains named after Wôden are frequent. It seems that on this basis the Norse poets built up their conception of Walhalla, with them no longer a gloomy subterranean abode but a resplendent hall with all the joys dear to the heart of the Norse warrior. We have no right to assume such a conception for the southern Germans.

By a transition, such as we ourselves still make in employing figurative language, the god of the storm and tempest becomes a god of strife and combat. The interests of the Germans of this period were so centered on warlike prowess that only a warlike god could hold a prominent position in their belief. We are told that Hengest and Horsa as well as other rulers of the various Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of England traced their descent back to Wôden, and Hengest and Horsa in particular were reported to have begun the conquest of Britain (A. D. 449.) under the special protection of this god, who thus presides as it were over the formation of a distinct English nationality. It is particularly stated that the Anglo-Saxons worshiped Wôden 'victoriae causa sive virtutis,' that is as giver of victory and warlike valor.

By a further transition the mobile god of the wind and tempest, the inspirer of courage, developed into a god of things pertaining to the mind and soul. Here particularly we may suspect Celtic or Roman influence, more especially that of the Celtic Mercury, whom Caesar describes as the inventor of all the arts, the guide

and protector of the traveler, the god of gain and commerce. A mythological legend which the Langobards, a Germanic tribe that finally settled in Italy, had about the origin of their race, shows us Wôden distinctly as supreme god influencing the fate of his people from on high.

Nothing is so suggestive to the primitive mind of highest power as the command of magic, and quite in accordance with his general exalted rank in Norse mythology, Wôden appears also among the southern Germans as master of magic charms. To show this it will be necessary to devote a moment's attention to the most interesting monument of German paganism now in existence, the so called Merseburg Charms. They are in the Old High German dialect. The manuscript in which they are preserved was written in the tenth century, but the charms are undoubtedly much older. The less they may seem to deserve such prominence, owing to their shortness, the more the fact will be impressed, how little is preserved to us for reconstructing the ancient heathen religion. By reason of the greater obscurity of the first of the two charms (it is supposed to be efficient in breaking fetters) I shall confine myself to the second one, which in a simple prose translation, taking no note of the alliterative verse of the original, is as follows:

> Phol and Wôdan were riding to the forest.
>
> Then the foot of Balder's horse was sprained.
>
> Then Sinthgunt sang a charm over it and the Sun, her sister;
>
> Then Frîja sang a charm over it and Folla, her sister;
>
> Then Wôdan sang a charm over it as he could so well do.
>
> Whether it be a sprain of the bones, or a sprain

of the blood, or a sprain of the limbs. Bone be joined to bone, blood to blood, limb to limb, as though they be glued.

These verses inform us that Phol and Wôdan once rode to the forest, perhaps to the chase, when Balder's horse stumbled and sprained its foot. Then Sinthgunt and the Sun, her sister, sang charms over it, apparently without success. Next Frîja and her sister Folla sang a charm over it, again apparently without success. Finally the incantations are crowned with success when Wôdan tries his hand. As supreme master of charms he proves himself to be in possession of the deepest knowledge. We discover here only a weak reflection of divine omnipotence, to the pagan or the superstitious person reciting these verses Wôdan appeared to be a great power.

The charm consists of two parts, first a narrative portion, in which we are told of a cure effected by Wôdan, then follows a formula of curative potency. By narrating the first part, Wôdan's miraculous cure, the atmosphere becomes charged, as it were, with the possibility of the recurrence of such a cure. The formula beginning 'whether it be,' perhaps conceived to be the exact words used by Wôdan, is then supposed to bring about the desired result. It is interesting to note that there is no request for a direct intercession of the god, but with a distinctly pagan attitude a cure is sought by a kind of sympathetic influence that is established between the special case and the model action of Wôdan.

A number of questions arise in connection with this interesting relic of German antiquity. Is the Phol of the first line identical with the Balder of the second line? Is the Balder here mentioned identical with the beautiful, luminous god Balder of Norse mythology? Is

Sinthgunt the Moon? And what significance attaches to the personification of the Sun? There is little indication that the ancient Germans worshiped any personifications of the constellations. Such questions may hardly engage our attention, as we are limited in time and space. Nor can we engage in a discussion how far Freya and other Norse gods besides Balder may have had counterparts among the gods of the southern Germans. We also leave aside a number of inscriptions containing, apparently, the names of Germanic deities, especially goddesses, because a convincing interpretation of their name and functions has not yet been given. Even some information furnished by Tacitus may be omitted, if the exact meaning or value of it is uncertain.

But one goddess, whose name occurs in the Merseburg Incantations, namely Frîja (Anglo-Saxon Frig, Old Norse Frigg), we cannot pass by. The importance of this goddess is brought home to us even at the present day by the fact that Friday (Latin Veneris dies) is named after her. In Norse mythology and in the Langobard myth already mentioned she appears as the wife of Wôdan. While the Merseburg Charms do not mention her as the wife of Wôdan there is no reason to doubt that she is so regarded. The name of the goddess meant originally "wife," "woman." This name is clearly much vaguer than those of the principal male deities, whose name announces their original special functions. Now even with this specialization it is possible that the three gods at some remote time were one. For clearly the thunder and wind belong to the domain of the God of Heaven. Thunor is, we may assume, originally Tîw, the God of Heaven, manifesting himself in the thunder. Such a division of a deity into two or more deities is frequent, as well as the merging of two or more deities into one. Much greater vagueness will prevail among the deities

of female gender, who represent the benign element in nature, the fertility and beneficence of our great mother, the Earth. Wherever female deities are mentioned, they may be a similar personification of the female principle under a different name. Tacitus gives us in his "Germania," chapter 40, a description of the worship of a goddess that deserves mention in full because it is the most beautiful description we have of a pagan Germanic worship.

After mentioning a number of German tribes dwelling on the shore of the Baltic in the regions east and north from the mouth of the Elbe river, including the Angles, the ancestors of the English, he continues as follows: "Nor is there anything noteworthy about these tribes except that they worship in common Nerthus, that is Mother Earth, and believe that she influences the affairs of mankind and is brought out into their midst. There is an island in the Ocean with a virgin grove, and in it a vehicle covered with a cloth. Only one priest is allowed to touch it. He knows when the goddess is present in her sanctuary. With due show of veneration he accompanies her as in her vehicle drawn by cows she moves through the land. There is general rejoicing when any place is honored by the presence of the goddess. No war is begun, arms are at rest, all iron is hidden from sight. Peace then reigns undisturbed and is cherished with loving fondness, until the priest brings back the goddess, tired of intercourse with mankind, to her temple. Then the vehicle and the covering, and the goddess herself, if we are willing to believe in her existence, are bathed in the secret waters of the lake. The slaves who perform the rite are themselves swallowed by the waters. Hence a feeling of awful mystery and sacred ignorance what that might be which only those doomed to die may see."

It is evident from this beautiful, poetic description that Nerthus was a goddess of spring and fertility bringing prosperity and happiness to her people. A goddess which Tacitus identifies with the Egyptian Isis and another goddess Tanfana, whose sanctuary, not far from the Rhine in the land of the Marsi, the Roman general Germanicus destroyed in the year 14 after Christ, may have been similar or essentially identical at the root with the goddess Nerthus. It is largely speculative, too, whether Nerthus is to be identified with Frîg; and just as speculative is the assumption that Nerthus, as Mother Earth, is to be regarded as the wife of a god of heaven, possibly Tîw. Such union of heaven and earth as man and wife is a mythological conception found among many peoples. We need not follow these uncertain and indistinct paths any further. In spite of all the art — or better by reason of the high art — of Tacitus' description of the Nerthus celebration we obtain but little real insight into the worship and nature of the goddess.

Before leaving the subject of the Nerthus worship attention might be called to an interesting survival of ancient times, namely the May-day and the May-queen. It would perhaps be going too far to identify the May-queen with Nerthus, although this identification has been made and there is nothing impossible about it. In any case the festival of this Goddess of Spring, Nerthus, and the rejoicing of May-day, with its May-queen and May-pole and flowers, sprang from the same impulse to greet the coming of spring.

It is doubtful whether the ancient Germans had any war goddesses of high rank. In Norse mythology the Walkyries play a prominent part. They are warlike maidens in the following of Odin, who assist or combat warriors, carry the slain to Walhalla and serve them with

food and drink. Belief in such beings seems very old though the conception may have been originally more primitive. Supernatural women of this type are possibly described in the first of the Merseburg Incantations. But the Norse Walhalla is not found in the belief of the earlier times. The dead dwelt under the ground. Their abode was named Anglo-Saxon hell, Old High German hella, Modern High German Hölle, a word meaning apparently "the concealing one." It was not a place of punishment for the wicked. The reception of the word into Christian religious terminology should be noted as another of the few pagan survivals preserved to the present day.

As we approach the end of our lecture we would gladly be in a position to give some account of the larger aspects and more vital elements of the religion of the ancient Germans, its influence on the spiritual and practical life. Here, too, we cannot make definite statements. Their religion was hardly weighed down by an excessive burden of dogma or ritual: magistrates or kings, if the tribe happened to have a king, may have performed the sacrifices and other priestly functions, and even if there were special priests among certain tribes and at certain periods their power was not inordinate. It is doubtful whether the primitive Germans ever gave an account to themselves how this world of ours was created, such as we find in the Norse Edda, strongly influenced by Christian conceptions. But they seem to have had legends about the origin of their race, as we saw in Tacitus' report of the worship of the Semnones. The most interesting account preserved of such a genealogy is found in chapter two of the "Germania," where Tacitus relates that in ancient songs the Germans celebrate the earthborn god Tuisto and his son Mannus (*i.e.* English "man"), to whom they assigned

three sons, from whom sprang three large subdivisions of the Germans, the Ingvaeones, the Erminones and the Istvaeones. That the ideas of the Germans on the subject of life after death lacked elevation, has already been shown. Now, how far did their religion influence their practical life? Did it help to make them better and more moral men? Tacitus finds much to admire in the ancient Germans, their fidelity to friends and superiors, their kind treatment of slaves, their respect for women, their life generally in accordance with the dictates of nature and morals; this in spite of certain vices and excesses. We would gladly believe that some relation existed between their virtues and their religious beliefs. But we cannot make any definite statement. Perhaps the female deities were of a nobler quality, in a truly religious sense, than the warlike men-gods. At a not very distant time a closer study of the general character of primitive religions may furnish us with new criteria to interpret our scanty information of the primitive Teutonic religion.

A few facts about the spread of Christianity and the disappearance of paganism may close our consideration of the subject in hand. Christianity was first accepted by certain German tribes in the fourth century. At the end of the fifth century the most powerful of the German tribes, the Franks, became Christian, while the continental Saxons held aloof longest among the southern Germans. They were forced by the sword of Charlemagne to accept Christianity about the year 800. Their Anglo-Saxon brethren had adopted the new religion two centuries before. Denmark, Norway and Sweden followed even later. Iceland officially accepted Christianity in the year 1000 of our Lord. This was the last episode in the protracted struggle between Christianity and Teutonic paganism.

IX

THE RELIGION OF ANCIENT GREECE

By Carleton L. Brownson, Ph.D.

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Greek mythology has interested the world for more than two millenniums; the Greek religion, on the other hand, has been seriously studied only within comparatively recent times. I do not mean to say that these two terms, Greek mythology and Greek religion, designate entirely different things, that the gods of Greek mythology were not also gods of the Greek religion. One must note, however, that mythology is related to religion as a part to the whole, that a mythology is but one aspect of a religion. For every religion has first, a theoretical, and secondly, a practical side; first, its ideas, its beliefs, whether incorporated in myth or in dogma, and secondly, its rites and institutions and ethical teachings. In the case of the Greek religion, the first of these two sides, the mythological, has so completely engaged the attention and fascinated the imagination of all succeeding times, that the practical side has been not merely overshadowed, but almost lost to sight. Of course the world's judgment of values has been correct; to peoples who had embraced Christianity the Greek religion had little to offer in the way of moral inspiration and precept; on the other hand, the mythology of so gifted a race as the Greeks and the poetry and art to which it gave and from which it received being have helped to create and then to refine our whole civilization. Our greater debt, then,

to the religion of the Greeks is not a strictly religious, but an artistic, an aesthetic debt; it is a debt to one part of that religion, its mythology; and to that mythology, not because it is an integral part of a religion, but because it is also an integral part of Greek art and literature. I assume, however, that at this time we are more interested in the other side of the Greek religion, the practical, and with this thought in mind I shall lay less stress upon the mythological side. I can do this the more safely because it is the mythology which is familiar to all of us already.

In the first place, let me recall the fact that the Greek religion was a religion of evolution, not of authority, a religion whose beliefs and practices were the product of a gradual, natural growth, not of a fancied supernatural revelation. The Greeks themselves did indeed conceive of it as born of the wisdom and genius of Homer, born an already matured and complete system, just as the Homeric hymn represented Athena as sprung fully armed from the head of Zeus. Homer, however, was no beginner, whether as poet or as theologian. He was heir, rather, to a religion which had already passed through centuries of development, from the rude worship of the primitive, savage ancestors of the Greeks.

The nature of this earliest, savage worship can be inferred partly from survivals of it in later times, partly from the comparative study of religions. One of its important elements was the worship of ghosts, the spirits of the departed. The spirit was conceived as still dwelling in the vicinity of his grave, conscious and powerful, ready to punish any desecration, ready also, and disposed, to vex his surviving neighbors in various ways. Evil, however, as these spirits were, receiving a worship of fear, not of love, they could still be made useful servants by the acts of the magician. For magic,

the "medicine" of the American Indian, has been in all places and times the handmaid of primitive religion. A more developed form of this early spirit worship was the worship of deceased ancestors, or, in general, the spirits of a family's own dead. Here was a service of love and duty. The grave must be protected from harm and its tenant honored with offerings of food and drink. Not merely honored; for food and drink were thought just as necessary to the dead man as they had been to him in life. As his needs remained unchanged in death, so also did his feelings and powers. He was most sensitive to neglect, while on the other hand if due offerings were paid, he would and could be of assistance to his surviving kindred in all the affairs of life.

Another form of primitive worship, akin to the first of those which I have just mentioned, was the worship of the so-called chthonic deities, the demons of the lower world, the powers of darkness. These demons were everywhere in incredible number. They were almost uniformly imagined as malevolent creatures, and their influence was felt to the hurt of mankind in a great variety of ways. They were not to be propitiated by worship in any proper sense of that term, only magic would suffice. By magic, however, it was possible not only to propitiate or exorcise, but also to command them, to employ a demon reduced to subservience against a hostile demon or a human enemy. One further point deserves particular mention. The primitive Greeks, like many other primitive peoples, believed that certain of these demons had their dwellings in various natural objects, especially stones, trees, birds, and animals; in other words, we have here distinct traces of a fetish worship. Stones which had fallen from heaven, *i.e.* meteorites, or stones of extraordinary, seemingly artificial shapes were in high favor as fetishes; so also

particular kinds of trees and animals, selected for one or another reason.

Still another phase of the primitive religion of the Greeks was a worship of the aspects and powers of nature, the sky and the sea, the sun and the lightning, the winds and the rivers, the dawn and the evening. The relative importance of this worship among the elements which went to make up the Greek religion is not deemed so great at the present day as it was a generation and more ago. Then almost every god was a nature god, and almost every myth found explanation as a nature allegory; but this method of interpretation has been found to be uncertain and untrustworthy. Most of the Greek deities are too many-sided and most of the myths too complex to be explained so simply, by a single general principle. At least, however, a very great number of both deities and myths include some aspect derived from nature and its workings.

With thus much at hand as the original material of Greek belief we see developed in the end a religion of poetic beauty, an Olympus inhabited by really divine beings in human form, not perfect, it is true, yet altogether noble as compared with the conceptions of other polytheistic peoples. The baser elements of the primitive worship seem to have been purged away. Not all of them, however, have disappeared entirely. Some have been merely overshadowed, others, refined by the spirit of the later religion, have been taken up into it. The practice of magic, the belief in malevolent ghosts, all the cruder sorts of superstition have practically ceased to exist. The family cult of the spirits of the dead still continues, though for the most part among the lower classes or in the more backward districts of the Greek world. In a similar way the worship of chthonic demons runs as an undercurrent beneath that of the Olympian gods.

The god, however, continually displaces the demon; at a given shrine the nobler worship is superimposed upon the baser, and only bits of the old chthonic ritual remain to tell the story. The fetish remains, but its meaning is forgotten. What was once a fetish stone, at Delphi, is now described as marking the center of the earth, and the newer, Olympian religion has a legend to explain how this center was determined. Another old fetish stone has become the Palladium of Troy. The laurel, once a favorite fetish, has risen to higher honor as a tree sacred to Apollo.

It would be interesting, if space permitted, to trace the progress of this upward evolution. It was really an evolution, for the principles of natural selection and the survival of the fittest were continually at work. The better cults and deities tended to become still better and to extend their sway, while the worse lagged behind in the race or fell out. The religion of the nation kept pace with its advancing civilization. A ruling class of cultivated nobles, gradually developed in process of time, looked with abhorrence upon the dark, gloomy chthonic worship. Meanwhile came the period when epic poetry had its rise, and the poets lent their powerful aid to the upward movement. The nobles, gathered for some festal occasion, made the poet's audience, and the matter of his song was taken in part from the old cult legends, stories of the demons and their human conquerors. Here was an element of the supernatural, ready at hand, to set off and magnify in the poet's tale the deeds of the ancestors of his hearers. Successive generations of poets recast, elaborated, and harmonized the old myths, and refined and elevated the old deities. Gifted, as they were deemed to be, with supernatural inspiration, they found belief when they departed from ancient tradition, above all when they glorified a noble

patron by tracing his descent back to some of the worthier gods and heroes whom they in part had developed. For ultimately they *could* raise some few of the old demons to the rank of gods, human in form and humane in spirit; others might be enrolled with the heroes of earlier days, still others would serve as foils to the gods, become their ministers or the antagonists whom they overcome. At the same time, a comparative order and system was gradually evolved out of the chaos of ancient myth. So there came into being, by the time and with the potent aid of Homer and Hesiod, a kind of standard mythology and a national Pantheon, the types of the greater gods at least became reasonably fixed and protected from change. Surprising variants from the standard scheme were still to be found in historic times in many parts of Greece. There were towns which hardly knew some of the greater deities, or which preserved stories about a particular god which were utterly inconsistent with the general conception of him. Such a condition, however, was entirely natural under the circumstances which I have described.

It is easy to generalize in this way about processes of god-making and myth-making. When one attempts to analyze and interpret individual myths, the task is found in many cases to be extremely difficult. It has become clear that no one method of explanation will explain all the myths, and that all methods will fail in a very great number of them. I have already referred to some of the myths which grew out of the partial absorption of the chthonic worship by the Olympian; I will merely recall here a few others of the easier sort as types. A well-known story describes how Persephone, daughter of Demeter, the earth-mother, was carried off by the god of the lower world, then recovered by her mother, but only on the condition of spending a

part of each year in the realm of Hades. Here is manifestly a nature allegory, from the grain which lies hidden in the ground during the winter and then comes forth to life in the spring. The story of Hermes driving off the cattle of Apollo is one of what are called the meteorological myths; Hermes is the wind, driving away the clouds, the cattle of the sun-god Apollo. The story of the contest between Castor and Pollux on the one side and Idas and Lynceus on the other is merely translating into myth the traditional enmity of the two states which the two pairs of heroes represent, Laconia and Messenia; that is, it is a historical myth. Another frequent type is the myth devised to explain a ritual whose meaning had been forgotten. In most cases, however, more elements than one enter into the formation of a myth, and there results a tangle which is not easy to resolve.

I return to what may be called the orthdox Pantheon, as finally developed in the poems of Homer and Hesiod, and persisting without very marked changes through the historical period. The greater gods dwelt together as a family and as a miniature state upon Olympus, along with a number of lesser deities, their subordinates or even servants. To the Athenians these great gods were twelve in number, and the Athenian list corresponded very closely to that which might be made up from Homer. There was Zeus, the father of gods and men, the most universal deity of the Greeks; he was god of the sky, wielder of the lightning, his will was well-nigh synonymous with fate; in fact he was very frequently conceived as not only supreme, but sole ruler of the universe, and his better side was a splendid blending of majesty and kindliness. Hera, his sister and wife, was queen of the gods, although in Homer power was almost her only queenly quality. Athena and Apollo,

both children of Zeus, are the noblest of all the Greek deities, Apollo the poet and prophet, god of light and healing, Athena the virgin goddess of war and wisdom, and patroness of Athens. I need not go further, for the names and functions of these more important deities are familiar to every one. I should perhaps mention two comparatively late additions to the Olympian family, Dionysus and Heracles. Dionysus was the object of a worship which gave the Greeks their drama and which is in many ways one of the most interesting things in Greek history. Heracles was the one great hero whom universal opinion deemed fit to rank with the very gods. The vast throng of lesser deities and demigods, who had little or no association with Olympus, Pan and the Nymphs, the Nereids, Furies, and the rest, deserve only a passing mention, although instances are not rare where one of them held the position of chief deity to people of some particular locality.

The gods of the Greeks were immortal and ageless. They had not existed, however, from the beginning of time. Their descent, from primeval matter or powers, was described by various theogonies. Their might was very great, but not unlimited. They were not omnipresent, nor are they consistently represented as omniscient. They have often been characterized as glorified human beings, with all the virtues and faults, the weaknesses and passions and impulses of mankind. Such indeed they were, in the pages of the poets and hence in the thought of all the Greeks. And the reason is not far to seek: those tales of early times which originated, for example, in attempts to portray symbolically the conflicts of the powers of nature or to establish the divine descent of princely families came down to the Greeks of a later day as immoral or unmoral stories of the amours and jealousies, the quarreling or double dealing of the gods.

On the other hand, these Olympians, who had so far supplanted a race of hostile demons, were conceived as friendly to man, even benevolent. They proved their loving care by granting him material blessings, and by offering him, through their oracles, wise counsel and moral guidance. The fact that they were of like passions with himself, not hopelessly and unapproachably perfect, served to bring them closer to him. Their demands upon him did not go beyond his natural human strength, nor did they grudge him natural human pleasures. So there resulted a relation of trustful friendship between gods and men which is eminently characteristic of the Greek religion. It is illustrated by an Athenian prayer which Marcus Aurelius quotes with admiration: Rain, rain, dear Zeus, on the fields and plains of the Athenians. Yet the gods upheld with a stern hand the moral order of the universe, punishing offenses not only against their own authority but against human society. The wicked might flourish for a time, but ultimately the gods would find him out, and often visit his iniquities upon his children to the third and fourth generation. "The mills of the gods grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small" is a literal translation of an old Greek line.

A man's duties to the gods were comparatively simple. He did not go to church or listen to sermons. The Greek temple was not a church, but the dwelling-place of the god's statue, which was the dwelling-place of the god; the priest was not a preacher nor a spiritual adviser. Religious societies, in our sense of the term, can hardly be said to have existed. Every one was expected, however, to do homage to the gods by sacrifice and prayer. His sacrifice was seldom an humble and a contrite heart. It might be a donatory sacrifice, offering to the gods as their reasonable service a share of the best that he had; it might be a sacrifice of atonement or purifica-

tion; but the spirit of it was not always a very high one. The donatory offering was apt to be regarded as giving the worshiper a counter claim upon the god, the sin offering as a means of escaping punishment, not of cleansing oneself from moral guilt. Prayer also was usually a seeking for specific worldly benefits rather than for spiritual light and betterment. One asked of the gods success in a given undertaking, a safe return from a projected voyage, health or riches, not forgiveness of sins or deliverance from temptation.

But let us be just to the Greek. If he was wont to ask the gods for worldly gifts only, it was for two most important reasons: first, uprightness of life was in his thought a duty which he owed to himself and to the state, and a duty which he should and could perform for himself, without asking for external aid; secondly, there was nothing beyond earthly favors that he could expect from the gods as a reward for piety, — he did not expect from them the gift of eternal happiness in a life after death. I shall return again to the first of these two points; to consider now the second. The Greek was indeed taught by Homer that men continued to exist after death, but it was only a shadowy, vague half-existence. Better to be a poor laborer on earth than king in the dark, vacant realm of spirits. Further, Homer agreed with the skeptical Preacher of the Old Testament not only that "the dead know not anything," but also that "all go unto one place." There might be such a thing as punishment for extraordinary sin against the gods, but no rewards for the upright and the pious. And this remained the normal conception among the Greeks of the world to come. Now and then a voice is heard, like that of Pindar, promising eternal bliss to those who should deserve it. The great cult of the Eleusinian Mysteries, probably under Orphic influence, held out

similar promises to the initiated. Among the philosophers, Plato was the first to teach a real immortality of the soul, and many who came after him followed in his footsteps. But such doctrines were never a part of the normal religion of the Greeks; they were for the few, and took but slight hold upon the masses.

We come now to a fundamental question: what was there in this Olympian religion to hold and influence a people so reasonable and intelligent as the Greeks? The answer may be given in a word: it was and is the religion of art. If the Greek deified reason, he deified art also; and it is only by one possessed of artistic imagination and comprehension that his religion can be fully understood. It was almost entirely the work of artists. First, the poets. They not only gave beauty of form to old tales, created unchangeable types of god and man, and developed a whole body of splendid myth, but they also breathed into their mythical world the very breath of life, a subjective truth the like of which few would be bold enough to seek in any other works of human genius. This plain world became under their hands a universe of beauty, harmonious in all its parts; their Olympus supplied what the real lacked to become the ideal, what nature lacked to become art. What the poets wrought into the soul of the nation in one way, the sculptors did in another. No one, it was said, who had seen the Zeus of Pheidias, ever imagined Zeus in any other semblance. It is true that art has ever been the handmaid of religion; nowhere, however, except in Greece her mistress and teacher. To compare Homer with Milton, Pheidias with Michelangelo, is to realize the truth of this statement.

But are such poetic and artistic imaginings to mean anything to reasonable people? Allow me to answer the question by asking another: which part of the Old

Testament is it which means most to us, which we should least willingly lose? Should we not say without question, the poetry of it, above all the psalms of David? — "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork. . . . In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun, which is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race." The whole matter, however, is put much more briefly and simply in the first verse of Genesis: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." But the one is poetry, the other plain prose. Take another plain prose thought: God cares for his people. This, and only this, the great Hebrew poet has translated into the splendid imagery of the twenty-third psalm. He has added nothing of religious truth, but his psalm is enough in itself to carry a man through life, as well as through the valley of the shadow of death. We cannot afford to despise the poetic in a religion.

For, to justify my illustration, there is poetry in Homer worthy to be compared with David's; and Homer was in a very true sense the bible of the Greek people. Just as our ancestors regarded the Old Testament as primarily a book of moral teaching, whose every part might be used for instruction in righteousness, so the Greeks regarded the poems of Homer. The more thoughtful of our ancestors found much to question and wonder at in the Old Testament; the thoughtful Greeks of earlier times must have found much more to question and wonder at in Homer. But the difference was one of degree, not of kind, and at least it cannot seem to us wholly strange that Homer was made to serve such a purpose. Be our judgment what it may be, let us give due weight to the fact, — that Homer was taught to Greek children in their schools, that his types of piety as of bravery, his conceptions of the gods, his pictures of religious usages were stamped

upon every mind. Here we have, therefore, definite moral and religious instruction on the one hand, and on the other a means to insure and continue the sway of the religion of art.

It remains, however, to impose the ultimate test: did this religion make men better and happier? Such at least was not its primary or conscious aim, such an aim was read into it, rather, by the higher moral feeling of the later Greeks. But the poet and the sculptor are not primarily moral teachers, even though their conceptions may be grand and elevating. It was grand and elevating to feel oneself a part of an ideally ordered universe, in which the right normally prevailed over the wrong, whose gods in general frowned upon the wicked and looked with favor upon the righteous, in which the individual might face his fate with equanimity, unafraid of anything which the laws of the universe might bring to pass. But these are thoughts for one's higher moments; one craves also for safeguards and comforts in the ordinary affairs of day-to-day life; and these, it must be said, the Greek religion did not supply. It was in himself, in his own strength of character, that the Greek must find comfort in trouble and courage to meet what might come after death. Nevertheless he did not say "let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." His morality in fact was better than his religion. While we are striving continually to bring our standard of conduct up to our religion, the contemporaries of Pericles and Euripides were striving to bring their religion up to their standard of conduct. By compelling Homer to yield them moral lessons, by making their whole system of education ethical rather than intellectual, by the law of the land, they forced a higher morality upon a passive or even unwilling religion. In fine, morality was a social rather than a religious virtue, a duty which one owed to his

family, his fellow-citizens and the state rather than to the gods. So we have the extraordinary combination of a religion immeasurably inferior to Christianity and a morality which an English writer of to-day has characterized as "approaching the best type of modern Christianity."

I have said that the Greek deified reason. In the progress of civilization reason came to be more and more a supreme god, and it was not slow to attack its rivals, the gods of Homer. The scientific spirit was not satisfied to be told that Zeus sent the rain and Poseidon the earthquake; it asked after the antecedent natural causes of rain and earthquakes. A still higher spirit of reason maintained "if the gods do aught that is base, they are not gods." On two sides, therefore, the traditional religion was assailed, and at a comparatively early period in Greek history. We have first, what Plato calls the old conflict between religion and science, — it is really old, one sees, — and secondly, the equally old protest of the ethical sense against immorality in art, here an immorality which was inseparably interwoven with a religious system. So far as the poets' tales were taken literally, they were declared to be immoral; so far as they were understood to be allegories, based upon natural phenomena, — for this method of interpretation was devised at a very early period, — men turned away from the personal gods and back to a study of the natural forces which they represented. It was a dilemma from which no one could escape, unless he allowed the influence of old tradition and the aesthetic sense to quiet the questionings of his reason. In a word, the nation had outgrown its religion. Of course different people met the situation in different ways. All the attitudes which men take toward religion in our own day were to be found in the Athens of the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ; there

were the pronounced skeptics, the doubters, the indifferent, and the fanatical believers who could tolerate the worst things in the ancient faith. The skeptics naturally turned to monotheism, and the belief in monotheism increased throughout the whole course of Greek history. Ultimately the old religion, abandoned by thinking men, revenged itself by imposing upon the lower classes an ever more scrupulous observance of outworn and meaningless forms and ceremonies. So, at the end of a long period of decline, St. Paul could fairly charge the men of Athens with being in all things too superstitious.

In closing, I wish to speak briefly of Greek philosophy. No doubt philosophy and religion are different things, but the line of division between the two is often a very fine one; and certainly it was in the philosophy of the Greeks rather than in their religion that the highest moral ideas and aspirations of the race found expression. The early natural philosophers, with their atomic theories, their elements and their cosmogonies, do not concern us here, although, as I have suggested, their speculations brought them into irreconcilable conflict with the national religion. With Socrates, however, begins a philosophy of ethics. His teachings and those of Plato and the Stoics approach very near to the best things of Christianity. Socrates, standing before a jury that had condemned him to death on the charge of impiety, was not only wthout resentment but without fear, declaring that no evil could befall a good man, whether in life or death, that God would not fail to care for him. Plato carried further the teachings of his master. His god was a god of love and a being of perfect goodness; man's highest duty was to love him and strive to become like him. The old Greek doctrine of doing good to one's friends and ill to one's enemies was condemned and transformed by Plato just as the corresponding Hebrew

doctrine was condemned and transformed by Christ. And Plato taught not only that the soul was immortal, but that the good man would enjoy in the life after death a happiness beyond all comprehension. The great commandments, therefore, and promises of the New Testament are found in Plato. Almost all the fundamental teachings of Christ he would have appreciated and accepted as corresponding to his own beliefs. It was only the infinite tenderness, the all-embracing, pitying, forgiving love of the founder of Christianity, that lay beyond his horizon. The thought that a sparrow's fall to the ground is noticed by the God of the universe never came to Plato. For his religion, as I may fairly call it, was primarily a religion of the reason, only secondarily of the heart. It was a religion, as he himself understood and said, for the few, for those only who were able to attain to such conceptions by the light of unaided reason, not a religion for the world. Yet it is not strange that some of the early Christian fathers at Alexandria, finding in Plato such doctrines as I have described, should have debated among themselves whether he learned his wisdom from the Bible or by inspiration of God; not strange that a pagan contemporary should have charged the evangelists with borrowing from Plato.

The Stoics were not unworthy successors of Plato. Their philosophy was characterized by a moral earnestness, a contempt for the prizes of this world, a comprehension of human frailty and wickedness, a strong sense of duty to one's fellows, and a high conception of the happiness of him whom the truth has made free, which remind us continually of the New Testament. As a historical fact this is easy of explanation; for it is clear that the apostle Paul was deeply influenced by the teachings of the Stoics. A very large part of his sermon at Athens was a statement of Stoic doctrines; and when

he speaks of himself and the other apostles "as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, yet possessing all things," he is almost quoting from the Stoic paradoxes.

I might go further; for the whole question of the influence of Greek philosophy upon the early Christians is a most interesting one. Let it suffice, however, to sum up in the famous words of Clement of Alexandria: "Philosophy to the Greek was the schoolmaster to bring him to Christ."

X

THE RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT ROMANS

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The Romans offer no exception to the rule that a nation's religion is largely influenced by that nation's history. Although the inherent character of the religion may not experience serious changes, the relation of the people to their religion varies with the passing years. If conquest brings expansion and foreign elements gain an entrance, the religion of the people as a whole passes through various phases which are coincident with the changes in their history. This is supremely true of the Romans. The characteristics of their early religion persisted even to the days of the downfall of Rome. This, however, does not mean to imply that the primitive religion did not lose ground, for its original influence and power well-nigh disappeared, and it was maintained with something of its old simplicity only among the humblest in society and in the retreats of the countryside.

The ancestors of the Greeks and Romans formed part of the same migratory band which in prehistoric days passed from Asia along the northern shores of the Mediterranean Sea and sent off delegations into the peninsulas of Greece and Italy. Entering Italy they spread over the country and across the Apennines, dividing into groups, one of which became the people of Latium and the ancestors of the Romans. Then we know of the kingdom of Rome, whose history is so interwoven with legend that it

is impossible to say where story ends and history begins. When the Tarquins, the last of the kings, are driven out, Rome becomes a republic and enters upon that marvelous period of conquest, first of the neighboring states of Italy and, after the Punic wars, of the countries along the Mediterranean and of Gaul, Germany and Britain. At the beginning of the Christian era an imperial government which was to last until the downfall of Rome had already been established.

Of course it is impossible for us to speak with any definiteness of the religion of the Romans of pre-historic days. We may assume that it was similar to that of the primitive people of Italy, and that this in turn was based on the religious beliefs which were shared by the people who went down into the Greek peninsula. In recent days anthropology has thrown considerable light on this subject and has taught us that the mind of primitive peoples conceived of spirits which belonged to everything material or immaterial. Each thing possessed a spirit which was identical with it and controlled it for good or ill. These sprits at first had no individuality but finally received a name and assumed a personality and a form like that of humankind. This belief of primitive people is known as animism. It is unquestionably the basis of the religion of the Greeks and Romans. Nevertheless, the religion of the latter developed in a different way from that of the former.

The Roman belief, although starting with abstraction and personification of deities, never went further, and did not become idealistic as did the Greek religion, which individualzed these deities so as to produce a mythology and mystical worship and forms of beauty and poetic idealism which gave an incentive to their art and literature. The Romans, however, never went beyond the abstract and hence there is not the same individualizing of

their divinities so that they could act as human beings and marry and have descendants — and there was in consequence no native mythology. The Roman religion lacked, therefore, the spiritual element and became an intensely practical matter. Thus they arranged their gods in classes so that they could readily be appropriated in the different departments of life and could be conveniently worshiped as necessity arose. Notwithstanding the lack of the spiritual element, they certainly felt the necessity of coming in contact wth superior beings who were important enough to demand some recognition or punish when not recognized. The relation of the people to their gods was one of agreement, in other words, a form of contract. Thus the vows, which a man made, assured the divinity that he would do certain acts and make certain offerings if the divinity would show him favor. These ideas were the basis of the system of ex-votos or gifts offered in fulfillment of vows. Cures were acknowledged by offerings of treasures, gold or silver, or often terra cotta representations of the part healed. Their relation to the gods was, therefore, formal and admitted of the establishment of a legal religious code, and the observance of religious rites approximated the observance of law. For practical purposes this was all placed under the control of an important body of religious officials, who therefore possessed great power. A religion of this character becomes a mainstay of the state though it has little to do with the inner life. The acts of religion, lacking as they were in true spiritual feeling, were nevertheless carried out with regularity and formality, side by side with civic duties, and served therefore as a bulwark to the government. Such a religion as this cannot bring peace to the guilty and relief to the hearts oppressed by sin and sorrow, for the gods are simply powers and not persons. Can we wonder that the religion

of the Christ met with so hearty a reception, especially among the common people, for it possesses to the full all that the Roman religion lacked?

The theory founded by anthropology and known as animism, explains the origin of certain of the many gods at Rome, — at least it makes clear why there were so many. For the belief that everything has a spirit corresponding to it leads to a multiplicity of gods. St. Augustine, in his "City of God," writing in the fourth century A.D., exclaims: "When can I ever mention in one passage of this book all the names of gods and goddesses which they have scarcely been able to compass in great volumes, seeing that they allot to every individual thing the special function of some divinity." For every man there was a Genius, for every woman a Juno, who served as guardian spirits. So in nature; the dome of Heaven, the springs, trees, and stones of earth, were all provided with corresponding deities. Then there was a divinity of children's eating, *educa,* of their drinking, *potina,* of sleeping, *cuba,* of going out, *abeona,* of returning, *adeona,* a divinity of a child's first cry, *vaticanus,* of its first word, *fabulinus;* and so in every department of life ad infinitum. It is important to note that the existence of each divinity was limited to the period of the existence of the thing itself.

So new divinities were continually coming into being as others were continually passing out of existence. The Romans believed that all this was true of other peoples and they accepted the divinities of other cities and towns and were willing to admit them to the circle of their gods. This broad view had much to do with the history of the Roman religion, for it tended to the admission of the beliefs of others and afforded an opportunity for making an impression on their people. Altogether there existed the possibility of innumerable divinities, so numerous in

fact that it became necessary for a person to limit himself to those which represented the department in life in which he was interested. It was of course impossible to give names to all, and from this circumstance arose the formula: "Be thou god or goddess," which is found on altars, and the phrase "To the unknown god," which is quoted by St. Paul on Mars Hill.

As it is possible to obtain a knowledge of the divinities of the kingly period we may study the religion of Rome as it existed before it came into contact with Greek influence. Fortunately there have been preserved in stone, dating in the time of Julius Caesar, lists of religious festivals which are given in connection with the Fasti or calendars, and which in fact go to make up the larger part of these calendars. These inscriptions, written not later than 42 A. D., give details which reach back to the time of Numa and therefore belong to the religion regularly ascribed to that king as the author.

We have shown above that the Romans did not emphasize the personality of their divinities to any degree. They therefore rather dwelt upon the ritual and routine necessary for the recognition and perpetuation of their gods. Hence the importance of these festivals in the study of the Roman religion, for they give us information as to their deities, but, what is still more important, as to religious ceremonials in which they were worshiped. These are described by Mr. Ward Fowler, in his "Roman Festivals," as consisting in the main of "sacrifices of different kinds conducted with endless but ordered variety of detail, of prayers, processions and festivities, the object of which was either to obtain practical results, to discover the will of the gods, or to rejoice with the divine inhabitants of the city over the prosperous event of some undertaking."

We cannot expect to find all the festivals inscribed on

the stone calendars as they naturally give simply state festivals. Ceremonies of a more private character associated with a locality or a family are lacking. It would be of little value to enumerate all these festivals. By way of illustration I might mention those in honor of Jupiter which occur on the days of the full moon, the various wine festivals—the Vinalia, on the first of March, and the festivals in honor of Mars scattered through the same month. On the fifteenth of April there was a festival to Tellus, the nourishing earth, on the nineteenth Cerealia, in honor of Ceres, the goddess of growth. On December seventeenth occurred the Saturnalia, or festival of seed-sowing; and turning to the home, on June ninth the Vestalia, in honor of Vesta, the divinity of the hearth. It is noticeable that they have largely to do with the life of the farmer in the field and home. And so I might continue with this calendar, which by a monthly classification of festivals indicates in a remarkable way the character of the early religion commonly associated with King Numa.

The religion of Rome as observed in the privacy of the home, the pietas of the farmer and of the ordinary citizen, formed the foundation not only of the religion of the state but of the state itself. The gods who grew into the hearts of the Romans were those who embodied the ideas of home and of home life. The Penates, the guardians of the storeroom or provision closet, and the Lar familiaris, the tutelary spirit of the family, looked after the well-being of the house and its inmates. Every morning the pious Roman gathered his dependents and slaves in the large middle room, the atrium, which was characteristic of the Roman home, and there offered prayers to the household gods. The center of the atrium was the hearth, the natural altar of the living room, and before the hearth stood the table from which the father, wife and children

partook of their meals. At midday he shook a part of his food into the flames on the hearth, and said a prayer that was not far from our "Give us this day our daily bread." At the evening meal the slave received the food for the divinities and burned it on the rear of the hearth and reported if the gods were propitious, and on unusual occasions these gods were honored with special sacrifices. With the worship of the Lares were joined that of the Genius or the individual divinity of the master of the house and that of the divinity of the woman, known as her Juno. The Penates, the Lares and the Genius were often represented by little statues set in niches or by paintings on the walls, and at times by both. Thus in the House of the Vetii in Pompeii the Genius of the master is depicted on the wall as standing between the two Lares, He carries a cornucopia or incense box in his left hand and is pouring wine from a bowl with the right. The Lares were originally the gods who presided over the farms. Each farm had its own Lares at first but afterwards they were worshiped in groups or pairs because of the number of Lares at the boundary lines of several farms. They naturally had their shrines in the farmhouses and so became household gods. In Pompeii they are pictured as youths clads in short tunics apparently dancing. In uplifted hand is a drinking horn from which jets of wine fall into a libation bowl held in the other hand. At times two serpents were painted beneath the figures of the Lares and Penates, strangely indicating the Genius of the master and the Juno of the mistress.

Marriage and its preliminaries were solemnized by religious ceremonies which were exceedingly elaborate when the bride was fully transferred from the ownership and care of her father to the control of her husband. Jupiter and Juno and special divinities appropriate to the occasion were worshiped. Birth and childhood were

marked by the worship of divinities which stood for all the period of the child's existence, even the pre-natal being remembered. Juno and Hercules were honored for the safe delivery of the child, and when he was named he was dedicated to Dea Nundina, the ninth day divinity, and when he assumed the toga of manhood he was assigned to Liber on whose festal day this event took place, or to Jupiter Capitolinus as representing the state which claimed the allegiance of the young man. The cutting of the first beard was attended by a religious festival and the crop was dedicated to Fortuna Barba. Nero offered the hair of a favorite slave in a golden vessel when that slave passed into manhood. Although man entered upon life under the care of the gods and sacrifice and prayers attended the most important incidents of his career, we never hear of religious thoughts and ceremonies at the bedside of the dying. There appears to have been no recognition of the necessity of forgiveness in order to be free from guilt when one passes to the life beyond the grave. The accounting for deeds closes with life and after death there is no hope from the favor of the gods. No priest prayed for the welfare of the soul. Nevertheless the cult of dead ancestors has great importance in family worship. The dead become gods and have a claim upon the regard and worship of the family to which they once belonged, and which must be maintained so as to carry on this worship. They became members of a class, the Dei Manes, or kindly gods, so named in the hope that they would have a friendly spirit toward men.

In the course of time, as the grave inscriptions show, the idea of the personality of these gods increased. They were believed to return to earth and to be entertained by the members of the family. Among the days on which they were remembered and honored with offerings were

February 13–21, designated the Parentalia to which our All Souls' Day and the Italian *tutti morti* correspond. On the rose day,—Rosalia, and violet day,—Violaria, as on our Decoration Day, flowers were offered at the tomb. The Manes were believed to be pleased with offerings of flowers and to partake of a meal of beans, lentils, eggs and bread. This was not an elaborate feast nor was it so regarded, as Juvenal shows who refers to a *cena feralis,* funeral dinner, when describing the mean fare of the client at the table of his patron. There are many indications that the existence of these Dei Manes was regarded as similar to that of the living. The grave was made in the form of a house, and the early funeral urns were miniature huts which give us a knowledge of the primitive homes of the primitive people. Inscriptions on the tombs and archæological finds within are further proof of this belief, for articles necessary and useful in life were buried with the dead, such as implements of war, toys of childhood, jewelry, etc. It is a common fact that we learn much of the living by discoveries made in the abodes of the dead.

Let us turn now to the most important of the early divinities of the state before we consider those brought to Rome by the Greeks. Janus was the god of the beginnings; as he was the divinity of the house-door so he presided over the city gate; likewise he was the deity of the opening month, Januarius, of the first of the month, and of the early morning. As suggesting the outgoing as well as the incoming, he has a double head and looks both ways. Jupiter, however, is the god of light and so of the day as his name signifies, and is clearly identified with the heavens, as the Latin expression sub-Jove, "under the skies," indicates. We have said that these divinities were powers and not persons. Hence these powers must be labeled, so to speak, and much importance attaches to the

adjective which indicates the particular phase of power referred to. Thus we recognize Jupiter Ferretrius the one who strikes or makes treaties, Jupiter Fidius, the god of good faith; and finally the greatest of all, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the representative and protector of the Roman state. To his shrine the highest officers of the state proceed when assuming office, and triumphs after victory were thanksgiving services to this divinity. In the time of the empire he became the tutelary divinity of the emperor and the imperial house. A willingness to sacrifice to him distinguished the pagan from the Christian in the infancy of Christianity.

Juno was the counterpart of Jupiter. She was the female representative of the light of heaven and hence was the goddess of the moonlight, which was believed to have an influence upon the female organism. Juno in her different phases was the divinity who was concerned with everything relating to women, particularly with marriage and child-birth.

Then there was Mars, who, being the god of the earliest month of spring, probably first represented the quickening power of new life. He was the guardian of the fields and so warded off evil, but he is not in early days the fully developed warrior god so familiar to us. Characteristics of this kind where his after Greek influence was felt. Then there are the divinities of the state corresponding to those of the home, Vesta, the Penates, Lares and Genius. Silvanus is the woodland spirit, Fannius the spirit of fruitfulness and Saturnus the god of sowing. These were the deities as presented to us in the calendars of the festivals. They preside over the city the boundary of which was the pomerium or sacred line, within which strange divinities were not allowed to enter. This pomerium was in reality the space on either side of the wall which was kept vacant under the law. The sanctity

of this boundary was observed until the Second Punic War, when it lost its significance.

The newer divinities and cults of a time subsequent to Numa owe their origin to the contact of the Romans with strangers. The Etruscans, who lived to the north of the Tiber, were a race apparently quite distinct from that of the Romans. We know nothing as yet of their origin and their disappearance is about as mysterious. These people, however, had an influence upon the Romans although, after all, it was comparatively trifling. In religion, if they gave to the Romans the idea of dedicating to divinities artistically constructed temples and of represening gods in form similar to that of mankind, they themselves had already been influenced by the Greeks in this respect. In 509 B.C., through Etruscan influence, although at the close of the dynasty of the Tarquins, the Romans erected a temple on the Capitoline Hill to the Etruscan triad, Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. The divinity Minerva, old Latin "Menerva," thus came into Rome through the interposition of the Etruscans. She was the divinity of the little Etruscan town of Falerii. We are accustomed, however, to identify her with the Greek Athena and in the progress of time characteristics of the Greek divinity were certainly assigned to her. She was however primarily the goddess of handiwork, i. e., of the artisans and laborers, and when she first appeared at Rome she was not admitted within the sacred line of the city, but was given an abode on the Aventine hill. This temple became the center of the interests of the artisans of Rome, whose great day was the nineteenth of March, on which the temples on the Caelian hill and on the Aventine hill had been consecrated. She soon assumed such importance as to become one of the famous triad worshiped on the Capitoline Hill.

There are two places in Italy which well repay a visit,

though travelers often pass them by; one, Mons Tifata, which rises picturesquely above the old town of Capua, now S. Maria Capua Vetere, and Lake Nemi, the so-called mirror of Diana, which is much nearer Rome. These places are famous because of the cult of the old Italian divinity, Diana. She was the deity of the woods, as her name Diana Nemorensis signifies. She cared for natural objects, the trees, wild animals, and of nature's productions, also for the birth of animals and of children. As Roman influences spread toward the south into middle Italy, Diana, who had been worshiped in the rude mountain religions, became of importance and she was accepted as a divinity at Rome and honored by temples on the Alban Mount and on the Aventine, outside of the pomerium, as the cult was that of a strange divinity. Diana had much in common with the Greek Artemis and she was gradually identified with that divinity. Venus, as her name indicates, was a divinity of Italian origin but in her earlier history she was the deity of the vegetable garden. Strange to say, when she became prominent in Rome in the third century B.C., she was identified with the Greek Aphrodite and assumed all the characteristics of that deity. She was an important divinity in Rome when the story of Rome's founding and of the Trojan hero Aeneas, her son, was accepted as part of the history of the origin of the Roman people.

We have thus seen how the Etruscans and other peoples of Italy added to the Olympus of the Roman religion. All this is insignificant compared with both the direct and indirect influence of the Greeks. The southern part of Italy was so thickly inhabited by Greeks that it was known as Magna Graecia; and the Romans soon met these people who were in possession of a large part of Italy and early felt their influence, especially in their religious life. One of the earliest traces of this is the evidence of the accept-

ance of the twin brothers, Castor and Pollux, known as the Dioscuri, or sons of Jupiter. The cult of Castor early established itself at Tusculum in Latium, about twenty-five miles from the city, and there becoming thoroughly Latinized, was later readily accepted into Rome, being admitted within the sacred line, and a temple was erected to him where the ruins now stand, in the south corner of the Roman Forum. This divinity, with his partner, Pollux, was the patron of horsemen and the development of this worship was closely allied with the increase and modification in the cavalry arm of the Roman forces. We all know the story of the appearance of the messengers, Castor and Pollux, who though divinities, brought the news of the battle of Lake Regillus on July 15th. They watered their horses, as the story goes, at the spring of Juturna, which, it is interesting to note, has been recently excavated in the Roman Forum.

With a history similar to that of Castor and Pollux, the cult of Hercules entered Rome at an early period. The Greek Heracles, known in Latin as Hercules, was brought to Tibur in Latium, about twenty miles from Rome, and there became a Latin deity, and as such he afterward was welcomed within the city. He came to Rome mainly as the deity of travel and trade, and therefore generals and traders looked to him for a happy outcome of their undertakings. The entrance of such a deity was coincident with the turning of the Romans to conquest and trade. Attention should be called at this point to two facts which are worthy of serious consideration. First, in the development of the Roman religion the new deities that up to this time had entered Rome were of the same spirit and character as the old and hence their introduction did not profoundly affect the religion of the people; second, whatever modifications took place indicating the development of the Roman religion, arose from conditions due to the

extension and development of the Roman power throughout Italy.

The religion of the period before the Republic was formal and lacked in spiritual enthusiasm, but the next epoch, from the beginning of the Republic to the Second Punic War witnessed an extraordinary change. This change consisted in the gradual breaking down of the old conservative religion and the admission of divinities whose worship meant an increase in superstition. When Rome accepted the worship of Apollo and received the Sibylline Books, or in other words, recognized the use of oracles and gave ear to them, superstition began its baleful work in the religion of the Romans. The second step was the worship of Cybele or the great Mother of the Gods and the orgiastic rites which belonged to her cult. This introduction of the element of superstition may be traced to the Greek colony of Cumae on the west coast of Italy, a city to which the Romans owed their knowledge of letters, weights and measures and of the elements of art. From Cumae came the famous Books of the Sibyl. The word Sibyl is the Greek Sibulla, meaning female soothsayer or prophetess. The Sibyls were priestesses who dwelt in caves or by springs in various places in Greece and Italy, as at Cumae, and served Apollo by making known his oracles. The story of how these books were brought to Rome is very familiar. Tarquin, after repeated refusal to accept the original nine, finally received the three that had not been destroyed. This of course is a mere legend, and scholars believe that the cult of the Sibyl was developed in Rome from very small beginnings. It meant the use of oracles which did not have to do with foretelling future events but with the setting forth of means whereby the angry gods could be appeased after their rage was indicated by prodigies or by pestilence and earthquakes. The

development of this use of oracles was closely associated with the new priesthood of two men known as the Duoviri Sacris Faciundis, or committee of two for sacrifices. These books were placed under the care of this committee, in the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, on the Capitoline Hill. They were consulted from time to time under the direction of the Senate, who in turn arranged to carry out the prophetic commands of the Sibyl. The close relationship existing between Apollo and the Sibyls indicates that the introduction of these books was associated with the appearance of this divinity at Rome. He was given an abode, however, outside of the sacred line, and a temple was built to him after a dreadful pestilence in 431 B. C. in the Campus Martius. It was not until the time of Augustus that he entered the city, but then he was given a temple on the Palatine Hill. These books were also responsible for the appearance of other divinities. When in 496 Rome was suffering because of the lack of grain through the failure of crops and the impossibility because of war of securing corn from other parts of Italy, she turned to the Sibylline Books and was directed to introduce Demeter, Dionysus and Persephone. Thereupon temples were built on the Circus Maximus to these deities under the name of Ceres for Demeter, Liber for Dionysus, and Libera for Persephone. The selection of these divinities was of course exceedingly appropriate for the exigency at hand. The Greek Demeter who distributes grain and bread is here allied with Ceres, the old Roman patroness of plant life. Dionysus as the god of wine is now identified with the Italian Liber, the old god of fertility, and Kore, daughter of Demeter, is classed as Libera, who is simply the companion of Liber. This triad was important because it was associated with the supply of grain, for which from this time the Romans were compelled to look to foreign lands. The Plebeians or

common people had great interest in this matter of cheap grain, and these gods became their deities and the temple of these gods became their meeting place.

Another divinity closely associated with these is Mercurius, who represents the Greek Hermes, but in his character as the protector of the merchant, and so he is the god of trade. His temple dedicated in 495 outside the city near the Aventine Hill, was the meeting place of the society of traders and merchants. Neptune is another divinity who though an early Italian god of unknown characteristics took the places of the Greek Poseidon, the god of the sea, and entered Rome with the other gods of trade.

We have now seen how in the early days of the Republic a number of Greek gods had been introduced into the Roman pantheon directly through the influence of the oracular books sent from Cumae. This was the first step in a very great change, a change which controlled the tendencies for the centuries that followed. In the third century the Roman people suffered the most trying experience in their history. They engaged in war with the Samnites, their neighbors, and then with Pyrrhus, and finally fought in the fearful contest with the Carthaginians under Hannibal. In the midst of the darkness of this fearful ordeal their religious spirit became more and more superstitious. The historian Livy enumerates the prodigies which seemed to the Romans to indicate the wrath of the gods, for he declares that they invariably preceded the dreadful defeats inflicted by Hannibal. In the vegetable market a six months' old baby was heard to cry "triumph" three times. In the cattle market an ox made its way to the third story of a house and leaped out. There was a shower of stones in Picenum. All these were met by expiatory rites. The people turned more and more frequently to the oracles,

and the Sibylline Books were more freely examined. The objections to the introduction of new divinities thereupon disappeared, and one and all came over the sacred line into the city and took a position alongside of the old gods of Rome. But this was not all, for when the Sibylline Books were consulted in the hope that some way might be suggested for driving Hannibal from the country, they responded that the Great Mother of the Gods must be brought from Phrygia to Rome. The ready obedience indicates the change in the religious spirit of the people. Sending a delegation to Phrygia they secured the sacred stone which the natives declared to be the mother of the gods, and took it to Italy. Here it was received with great enthusiasm, and Rome had now adopted a foreign divinity and a foreign cult which they believed rightly claimed their adherence and gratitude because by reason of its presence Hannibal left their shores. They little knew, however, that it meant the introduction of incantation and orgiastic rites in place of the simple religious faith which had been the mainstay of their sturdy government. They might better have kept Hannibal and turned the mother of the gods from their shores. They had in a double sense secured a stone for bread.

We turn now to the history of the religion of Rome in the last two centuries of the Republic. Of this period it may be said first that the superstitious and the sensational prevail widely in the religion of the state, and yet, on the other hand, there appears a skepticism due to the introduction of philosophic theories brought to Rome by the Greeks. The story of the growth of the former is easily told. Rome had broken down the barrier, and now admitted Greek deities on the theory that they were parallel to Roman divinities, and even where this parallel was difficult to establish, the new divinity was admitted if the slightest trace of resemblance in ceremonial to a

Roman deity could be found. Again the Roman deities for whom no counterpart was recognized in the Greek Olympus were neglected, and the general effect was a disregard of the old and a recognition of the new, especially of those calling for extreme devotion and a worship of ecstasy. First they gave themselves to the worship of Cybele, the mother of the gods, then they took part in the revels which marked the cult of the god Dionysus or Bacchus, resulting in excesses demanding restriction by law, and finally they even turned to astrology, which flourished in spite of official antipathy. It is a curious fact that superstition and skepticism increased in Rome in the same period, and it is still more curious that skepticism tended to bring the Romans back to their sensible old religion, for though the Greek philosophy had discredited Roman religion, it tended still more to counteract the leaning to the superstitious. Lucretius, the great poet of the middle of the first century before Christ, was a dogmatic opponent of religion, and preached the philosophical creed of Epicurus, but he also called upon the Romans to put away false gods and superstitions. The result of the introduction of Greek philosophy and skepticism was not the absolute destruction of religion but rather the reassertion of its power and its recognition as a necessity in the life of the state which must be maintained although men of intelligence no longer had any belief in the religion of their fathers. Nevertheless faith has disappeared and a formal religion of this character cannot stem the tide of superstition which invades Rome now from the East while the Roman armies are invading the lands in which these wild and strange religions had their origin. After the Mithridatic War Sulla's army brought to Rome the goddess Comana, who became identified with the old Italian Bellona. Her

devotees indulged in the wildest orgies, dancing and cutting themselves with knives.

The cult of the Egyptian deities Isis and Serapis was established in Puteoli and at Pompeii before the close of the second century B.C., and made its way into Rome against fierce opposition when the old religion was decaying and the popular craving for emotional worship is making itself felt. This cult possessed extraordinary fascination for the masses; the slaves, freemen and people of lower ranks. The ritual of the worship of Isis was marked with great pomp, and the deep feeling aroused by the lamentation for lost Osiris and the joy of his restoration appealed to those who never paused to consider the ridiculous character of the entire proceeding. Because of its popularity it was necessary to give the Isiac cult at Rome a place in spite of the opposition of the old Roman sentiment. Isis was recognized by Octavianus, when triumvir, by the erection of a temple, although she was banished beyond the pomerium after the battle of Actium. Under the emperors the cult met little opposition, and maintained its influence beyond the days when the Roman world yielded to Christianity. The oriental religion which became the most powerful in drawing to itself the devotion of the western world, was that of the Persian Mithra. This cult may have entered Rome in the days of Julius Caesar, but it was in the imperial period after the reign of Tiberius that it began to make headway in the capital and then throughout the empire. Dill[1] has said that "It is perhaps the highest and most striking example of the last efforts of paganism to reconcile itself to the great moral and spiritual movement which was setting steadily and with growing momentum toward purer conceptions of God, of man's relations to Him and of the life to come." Though it seemed to satisfy for a

[1] "Roman Society from Nero, to Marcus Aurelius."

time the demand of the world for spiritual light and life, it did not ultimately provide what was needed, and it was compelled to yield to a religion which would afford a great moral ideal set forth by a moral God.

At the close of the republic, therefore, the old Roman religion existed simply in the worship of the family, for the state religion had lost its hold through skepticism and the common people had turned to the excesses of these oriental religions. When Augustus became emperor of Rome, with splendid judgment and patriotism he set himself the task of discovering the reason for the condition of his people. Why were they not the same as in the days of his forefathers? What restorations must take place to bring Rome once more into its old condition and to recall the old national life? Augustus saw that the old spirit of patriotism and the belief that Rome was destined to stand forever must be restored. All influences were therefore turned in this direction. Statesmanship, literary achievement, all were employed in the great purpose. Hence we have Virgil's Aeneid with its story of the founding of Rome, Horace's Odes and Ovid's Fasti. More than all, however, religion must be given its place again, and literature and statesmanship must bring this to pass. The emperor builds numerous temples, reorganizes the old priestly colleges such as the Fetiales, who looked after treaties and declarations of war, and the brotherhood of the Arvales, which dated back to earliest days when the priests marched about the fields so as to purify the land. The latter was re-established as a traditional priesthood, and became of service in the religious support of the imperial house. The worship of Vesta was honored in a peculiar degree. The Vestals possessed extraordinary privileges and were treated with marked respect in public even by the highest officers of the state. Last of all we should mention the evident endeavor to

offer for worship certain important divinities identified with the imperial family. Thus Julius Caesar became a divus Julius, which was a very simple adaptation of the idea of the Dei Manes who had now become in the Roman idea individual deities. He nevertheless encouraged the worship of certain favorite divinities of his family, Apollo, Vesta, Mars Ultor the Avenger. Finally, the genius of the emperor, the Genius Augusti, readily found a place as a state divinity because it was associated with the Lares at the crossroads and became the object of general worship. The East accepted this as the adoration of the Emperor, although Augustus objected to the deification of living persons.

Although the reforms of Augustus and the consequent religious revival may not have produced profound religious sentiment, it vitalized the old formal religion of the state so that it endured almost to the time of the invasion of Alaric in 410 A.D. This was, however, purely the religion of the state, and the emperors after Augustus employed it as a powerful ally in maintaining their sovereignty. With the exception of Nero they loyally supported the state religion. Tiberius guarded the priesthood and the Sibylline Books, Claudius revived ancient rites of early days, the Flavians and Antonines returned to the conservative spirit of Augustus and protected the ancient ritual. Nevertheless, private views as to religion varied greatly. Tacitus is evidently very weak in his faith, and Juvenal joking declares "If men really must ask the gods for something and vow entrails at the shrine and the sausages of the little white pig, they should pray for a sound mind in a sound body." Nevertheless, it is a period when gods were being produced particularly by apotheosis on every side. Petronius declares that in Croton you could more readily come upon a god than on a man. Yet the old gods continued to be most prominent

and the inscriptions prove that Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, Hercules and Silvanus, Mars and Fortuna, are more important than ever. But above all Jupiter, now designated by many titles, is drawing to himself the adoration of the multitude, for the tendency to monotheism makes him supreme. In the imperial period the religion of Numa is interwoven with the very life of the people. As Dill has said, "It penetrated the whole fabric of society; it dignified every public function and every act or incident of private life. To desert the ancient gods was to cut oneself off from Roman society, as the Christians were sternly made to feel."

It was the touch of the distant past associated with the glory of Rome that gave to the formal state religion such wonderful power even in the fourth century. We know there were spiritual longings which such a religion could never satisfy. Hence we pity, yet admire as we behold the Romans even in these declining days feeling the spell of the ancestral religion which is so closely allied to the history of the eternal city.

XI

JUDAISM: ITS PRINCIPLES AND ITS HOPES

By Rabbi Rudolph Grossman, D.D.

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When men and women are willing to follow in a spirit of respect and good-will the words of those who represent faiths and beliefs that differ widely from their own, a mighty step forward has been made in the development of that true spirit of fair-mindedness and justice that is ultimately to lead to the unification of the human race; for I contend that back of all the antipathies and animosities, behind all the prejudices and the ill-will that unfortunately but too often have separated creed from creed, and nation from nation, and deluged the earth with the blood of innocent victims of hatred, malice and bigotry, stands ignorance, — ignorance as to the real character of both the man and the faith that are the objects of scorn and abuse.

Once let the divine fiat of creation's morn, "Let there be light," resound over all the earth, once let the caricatures that fanaticism and ignorance have drawn, be replaced by the honest portraits that knowledge and truth alone can draw, and how quickly will it be found that despite all diversity and difference, there beats in all human beings the same human heart, aglow with the same aspirations, athrill with the same ambitions, — yea, worshiping, though in different form, the same Father and seeking, though by different paths, the same Truth.

I am speaking as the humble representative of a people

that even in this enlightened age is often misjudged and even maligned, and of a faith that though the oldest of all existing religions, though the mother from whom the world has for ages drawn its spiritual nourishment, is still to-day frequently misunderstood and misinterpreted, and even branded as outworn and outlived. And if in the very brief space at my disposal, I may perchance be enabled to give correct information as to the principles and the hopes of Judaism, and lead any to realize that this old faith has still a message for the modern world, a message that is big with meaning, I shall be profoundly grateful for the opportunity afforded me.

At the outset let it be understood most clearly that when I speak of the Jew, I use that term to connote a religionist, the confessor of a distinct religious idea, and not a nationalist, clinging to certain political ideas and dwelling among the nations somewhat as the Chinese dwell among different peoples, always with the hope of returning some day to their former home.

Judaism, as I understand it, is not identical with Zionism. While the age-long suffering of the Jew, a suffering that, alas, is not yet ended, has led many of my people to cherish the hope of an ultimate return to Palestine, the home of our former glory, and of the re-establishment of Israel as a nationality, yet the great prophets of Israel, whose disciple I am, have always interpreted Jewish history and Jewish destiny in terms of religion and not of nationality. I differ from you only in my faith, in what I may call my Jewish "Welt-Anschauung" or "Lebens-Anschauung," — that is, in my distinctive Jewish philosophy of life and the world. With you, I am an American, a loyal, patriotic upholder of this land that I, and with me all my people, hail as our home now and always, our second and greater Palestine.

It is not needful for me to point out that in all that

concerns American life the Jew has played his part, and, I venture to say, has played it honorably; that in war or peace, in the domains of industry or of scholarship, in the halls of legislation or in the realms of commerce, the Jew has contributed his share to the wealth and the weal of this nation; and the same holds true of the German, the French or the English Jew. But while we Jews are patriotic upholders of the particular flag under whose protection we dwell, we at the same time cling with a persistency that by some has been glorified as heroic and by others has been branded as stubborn, to certain religious ideas that have not only marked us off from the world, but have made us but too frequently, in consequence, the martyr and sufferer of history. It is this that has made the Jew the riddle of all the ages. No other people of whom history has any record has clung with so vehement a persistency to his own peculiar religious ideas as has the Jew, and at so tremendous a price. Fire could not consume nor could water quench the Jewish ardor; neither bribery nor persuasion could induce him to abandon his faith. All the world's persecution, all the torture that tyranny and cruelty could devise, have been of no avail. A people without a country for centuries, a people for ages deprived of every human right and opportunity, a people for epochs scorned, hated, abused, outcast — and yet, the Jew lives.

And what makes the marvel all the more marvelous is the fact, that Israel is not only the oldest of peoples and the most persecuted of peoples, but the weakest of peoples, — weakest during its dispersion, weakest during the days even of its national glory, weakest still to-day, — and yet, the Jew lives. Broken columns are all that attest Egypt's former glory; Babylon, Assyria, Rome and Athens are merely historic echoes; mighty empires arose and flourished; great dynasties came and fell; mighty religious

organizations built gorgeous temples, and they sank into ruins; ages have come and ages have gone, — yet the Jew has outlived them all; the Jew is still young though four thousand years have rolled over his head.

How shall we explain this enigma, this marvelous vitality? Shall we say, as do some, that it is due to stubbornness? Surely not, for men do not willingly and cheerfully bear suffering and ignominy and torture merely at the command of stubbornness. Conviction alone can make men ready to do and die for a cause. Or shall we say, as some theologians have asserted, that the Jew exists because of a supposed curse launched upon him by his own brother in faith, and that the Jew shall exist until in the fulness of time he shall be cured of his spiritual blindness by the abandonment of his old faith and the acceptance of a new? Perish that thought! No theologian who is honest, will any longer ascribe historic truth to the exploded myth of the "Wandering Jew," or will he dare to assert that Judaism is nothing more than spiritual blindness. Elsewhere must we look if we would explain the persistence and insistence of the Jew upon his own religious ideas.

To one who studies the history of mankind with a keen and philosophic mind, it must be clear, that the Providence that rules the destinies of humanity, has assigned to definite nations a definite function, which it is theirs to play on the stage of life, and has dowered particular individuals and peoples with a particular genius, embodied and expressed in their thoughts, ideals and achievements. Indeed, we may say that certain individuals and peoples appear to be divinely gifted, seem to be appointed, called, chosen or, to use the theological term, inspired, to do a particular work at a particular time. Thus, we Americans love to believe that George Washington and Abraham

Lincoln were appointed, called, to proclaim freedom to the oppressed and the enslaved.

Now, this holds true of whole nations as well. Thus, for instance, the Greeks were dowered with a genius in the direction of art, the Romans in the realm of law and political organization; the Anglo-Saxon race stands distinguished by the superior ability it has manifested, as Emerson has pointed out, in all things where independence, self-reliance, and courage are required. Germany is unique as being the mother country of modern philosophy and transcendental idealism. America we believe is appointed, called, to bring to the nations the uplifting message of self-government, of liberty under law. In the same sense we may say that Israel was dowered with a genius peculiarly its own, a genius in the direction of religion and morals. In worldly matters, in all things that appertain to the physical and the mental growth of civilization, other nations have far surpassed the achievements of the Jew, but in the realm of the spirit Israel is master. And this peculiar, distinctive genius of the Jew in matters of religion and morals, accounts for the fact that to the Jew the world is indebted for those great religious and moral principles that lie at the basis of our civilization, for not only the highest ideal that the human mind has ever conceived, the ideal of one God, the doctrine of monotheism, but also the noblest ideals of modern ethical aspiration, the ideals of liberty, of justice, of charity, of peace, were first enunciated by the prophets and the seers of Israel.

The Book of books, the moral text-book of the world, the book of praise and prayer for young and old, the guide to peace here and salvation hereafter, the Bible, with its Ten Commandments, the Impregnable Rock upon which government, society, law and order are based, — the Bible, with its surpassingly beautiful picture of a world

of nature and of man at peace, — the Bible, with its Sabbath, the first declaration of independence from degrading drudgery and enslaving toil, — the Bible, is the Jew's gift to the spiritual wealth of the world.

And, mark you, all these contributions of the Jew to civilization, without which, in fact, civilization could not be, came to him, I contend, not as a result of any supramundane, mysterious revelation that flashed upon him from above, but were evolved out of his own consciousness, — the expression of his own soul, spun, as it were, out of the genius that is in him. When, then, we speak of Israel as "the chosen people," let not men curl their lips in irony or scorn. When the prophet of old said to the Jew, addressing him in the name of Jehovah: "You only have I known, among all the peoples of the earth," he did not mean, nor do we Jews interpret his words to mean, that the Jew is God's favorite, as though upon Israel had been conferred a higher patent of blue-blooded nobility than upon any other denizen of God's footstool. Let the prejudiced and the ignorant accuse the Jew as they will of chauvinism and exclusivity, we do not arrogate to ourselves any privilege that God has not conferred in equal measure upon all His other children. God did not choose the Jew in the sense of having arbitrarily selected him as His mouthpiece or representative, but the Jew, if I may so say, chose God as the Ideal for his reverent study and worship. "Israel, the chosen people," means "Israel, the choosing people," as it has recently aptly been termed; for Judaism, as I understand it, is more than a religion, — it is a mission. Judaism we define as something more than a mere statement of creeds and doctrines; it is a message, a message to the world, incarnated in a living church; for, you will permit me to say, as the innermost conviction of my own soul which, as an honest man I must express — and, thank God, I may

express without fear or hinderance — that the faith I represent stands for one ideal, an ideal that is the very bone and marrow and sinew of Judaism, an ideal whose realization is not yet, though, thank God, we are nearer to it than we ever were before, — for all the principles and hopes of Judaism, all the ambitions that vitalize the heart of the Jew, find expression in one phrase: "The unity of God and the unity of mankind."

It is not needful for me within the compass of this lecture, to expatiate upon the many reasons why we Jews cannot accept the Nazarene in the sense in which the Christian does; though let it be said, and said with reverence, that we Jews honor the Nazarene as our brother in faith, sprung from our loins, nurtured at Israel's knee, a teacher of sweet and beautiful ideals, a preacher whose influence has been and still is among the mightiest spiritualizing factors in all the world. But Judaism's entire history is one long protest against any conception of God that would seek to embody the deity in human form, however perfect may be the mold in which it is cast.

It is to the eternal glory of Judaism that through the genius of its prophets and its seers, it brought to the world the fundamental truth of the Oneness of God, expressed by the Jew in that which is his watchword in life and death, "Hear, O Israel! The Lord our God; the Lord is one."

But the Jew did not attempt to define this One God, realizing that a God defined is no God; nor did the Jew seek to identify this One God with any dogmatic formulation of creed, for while the conception of the deity, as the Jew pictured him, is transcendingly pure and immeasurably exalted above human experience and the world of nature, on the other hand, the Jew recognized that man's conception of God and man's attitude towards Him, expressed through worship, symbol or creed, is largely con-

ditioned upon the degree of man's knowledge and the strength of his spirituality; and therefore, dogmatism has never put a brake upon the Jewish intellect and said "This thou mayest believe, and nothing else."

It is a remarkable fact that heresy trials are unknown in Jewish history, for Judaism never fettered the mind and never asked the searching thinker to recant discovered truth.

According to the Jewish conception, reason and faith are not antagonistic forces, but are rather twin sisters, both daughters of heaven, children of light. And, even more, Judaism lays greater emphasis upon conviction than it does upon belief, upon conduct than it does upon faith. The Jewish attitude has never been better expressd than in the familiar lines of Tennyson —

> "For forms of faith let graceless zealots fight;
> He can't be wrong, whose life is in the right."

Our primary solicitude is not belief but conduct. The true test of the worth of a man, according to the Jewish standard, is not the faith he calls his own but the manhood he displays, — not the dogmas that a man professes or disbelieves, not the creeds he repeats or fails to repeat, but the life a man lives, the conduct a man shows; the deeds a man does make him beloved of God and assure him salvation here and hereafter.

Now, this is the keynote of Judaism's attitude towards other faiths. We have sent no missionaries into the world, not because we are not interested in the spread of truth, but because Judaism is so broadly tolerant of other faiths that it sees in every religion, so long as it can create and fashion pure character and righteous conduct, a consecrated child of God, a ray of the divine light of truth.

It is sometimes said by those who misunderstand my religion, that Judaism and the Jew are narrow, exclusive,

— that the God of the Old Testament is a tribal deity, severe, stern, lacking in those elements of love that win the heart. The Jew exclusive? No, not *exclusive,* — the Jew has been *excluded.* The Jew narrow? No, not *narrow,* — the hatred of the world *narrowed* the circumference in which he could move and live. The God of the Old Testament severe and stern, lacking in the elements of love? Where will you find a higher conception of God's love for all men of whatever creed or country they may be, than that which found expression in the dictum of the Talmud, "The good of all religions and of all nations shall inherit immortality?" Or in that other, even more remarkable, utterance of a Talmudic sage, who once said: "What does God demand of His children? Only this: that they love one another?" Has the human mind ever soared unto sublimer heights of world-embracing unity than did the prophet Isaiah when he said, in the name of Jehovah, "My house shall be a house of prayer for all nations?" Has love ever found sweeter expression than in the immortal words that first fell from the lips of the old Hebrew prophet, Malachi: "Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us all? Why then shall we deal treacherously one with the other?"

Yes, the very soul and center of the faith I represent, the embodiment of all the principles for which Judaism stands, is the doctrine "The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man." That is the doctrine upon which the synagogue bases itself; that is the doctrine that the Jew wrote upon his banner. "One God over all; one brotherhood for all; justice and love unto all." Nations derided him, governments oppressed him, the world trampled him under foot; the Jew stood by his banner; he handed it onward from father to son; he gave his life in its defense. "The Brotherhood of man because of the Fatherhood of God;" that is Israel's message to the world.

Israel's mission is peace! Israel's hope is humanity united; Israel's ambition, not its own glorification, but the glorification of Him who is the Father of all His earthly children. That is the dream of Israel's Messianic age; that is the secret of its vitality. Cannot the church and the synagogue unite upon that broad platform of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man?

As a rabbi I stand proudly by my synagogue, and with all the ardor of conviction I say, with Jonah of old, — "I am a Hebrew;" but at the same time, because I am a Jew, because I belong to that people, whose historic mission it is to stand as the priest of reconciliation and peace among the nations, I extend to you of the church, the right hand of fellowship, and call you "friend, co-worker, brother."

Let the Church and the Synagogue unite in a spirit of harmony for the upliftment of man and the redemption of the race; let Jew and Christian work together for all that will make for a truer fellowship and a sincerer co-operation, and with united forces, and in sweetest accord let us sing that which is the hope of the Jew, the aim of the Christian, the ideal of all the ages, —

"Have we not all one Father?
Hath not One God created us all?
Let love and peace reign over all the earth.
Amen."

XII

MOHAMMED AND ISLAM

By Colonel Alexander S. Bacon

Of the New York Bar

"Religions are many,—Religion is one."

This is the trite saying to be found on the title-page of this collection of addresses on a score of religions by as many distinguished gentlemen, each of whom, save one, is known to be an eminent expounder of its tenets. I am not wholly satisfied with this assumed truism, and move an amendment: *"Theologies are many; true religion is one."*

I am aware that no one has ever adequately defined "religion," let alone "true religion," as each has his own conception of it. Any discussion is, therefore, unsatisfactory, because not based on the firm foundation of an accepted definition, but certain groups have similiar ideas and ideals, and the argument of this address will be based on the conceptions of religion and morality generally accepted by orthodox Christians.

Gauged by these ideals, is Islam true religion, or merely theology?

While sailing from Yokohama to Honolulu, some years ago, I became acquainted with the President of a Theological Seminary whose benign face, snow-white hair and flowing beard emphasized the dignity of his exalted office. I said to him jokingly: "Doctor, after wide reading and some experience, I am inclined to believe that there are two things that should never be taught in theological seminaries, viz., metaphysics and *theology*." He laughingly replied: "As to metaphysics, I agree with you;

as to *theology,* there should be very little, but that little should be *good.*"

What constitutes "Good Theology"?

"Good theology" is simple, for Divine Wisdom has not spoken to ignorant men in Greek oracles. It connotes a belief in the true God; but mere belief (an operation of the mind) is not sufficient: there must be obedience to His commands (an operation of the will). We are taught in James ii, 19 and 20:

> "Thou believest that there is one God; thou doest well: *the devils also believe and tremble.* But wilt thou know, O vain man, that faith without works is dead?"

To illustrate:

A loyal Unionist during the Civil War might have been a firm believer in the military genius of a Lee, but he was both a believer in, *and obedient to,* the military genius of a Grant. A religionist must not only have a correct mental belief in the abstract principles of correct theology, but he must have an obedient heart that *obeys the orders* of his commander-in-chief. Besides, he must display to the world the banners of his army, which, in religion, are certain distinguishing facts and habits of life which, in time, culminate in *Character.*

This thought may be illustrated further by the duties of a sentinel. He *believes* in his commanding officer and is loyal to him. But this is not enough. His general publishes certain orders which define his duties: he is to protect public property in the vicinity of his post and to keep a sharp lookout for the enemy. If he is ignorant of his orders or, knowing them, is disobedient or negligent, he is a faithless sentinel and is punished.

A model soldier *believes* in his commander-in-chief,

enlists in his army, *learns* his orders, and does his best to obey them. In time, his obedience becomes automatic; he obeys orders without thinking, both in the intoxication of victory and in the humiliation of defeat; he has thus acquired "the military habit" of implicit obedience and becomes the perfection of a good soldier. What the military habit is to a soldier, character is to a Christian: the fruit of a lifetime of correct thinking and obedient service; the consummation of "good theology."

Applying this military illustration to the Jew, it would mean *belief* in Jehovah, and *obedience* to the code of morals enunciated in the Ten Commandments, and the observance of circumcision and the keeping of the Sabbath and the ceremonial law. To the Christian, it would mean (1) belief in Jehovah and His Divine Son; (2) *repentance* of sin, (3) *baptism* (enlistment in the army) and (4) *good works,* or a godly life based on the commandments and the Sermon on the Mount, culminating in Christian character. True religion is individual, not national and it connotes first, *faith,* a correct attitude of the mind, followed by *repentance,* a correct attitude of the individual heart, and *baptism* and a godly life, a correct, continuing attitude of the will.[1]

Every good soldier must know his orders before he can obey them: religious orders are found in the Holy Books of each religion, hence the command "Search the Scriptures."

Having assumed this preliminary statement as to religion, let us analyze the history of Mohammed and the development of Islam as set forth in the Koran, the holy

[1] 1. Faith or Belief: Acts viii, 12–13; viii, 37; xvi, 31; John iii, 14–20. 2. Repentance: Acts ii, 37–40; iii, 19. 3. Baptism: Acts ii, 38; viii, 12; viii, 38; x, 48; xvi, 15; xvi, 33; xxii, 16; Mark xvi, 15, 16. 4. Good Works: 2 Pet. 1, 5-11; John viii, 31; Acts xiv, 22; 1 Cor. ix, 27; Rev. ii. 10.

book of the Arab, and see whether it fulfills the requirements of a true religion.

It will be noted that under this definition, there can be no true religion without the all important prerequisite of a foundation belief in the TRUE God. The commander-in-chief who issues our orders must be duly commissioned. In building up, through life, a *Palace of Character* that is to endure through eternity, the foundation is all important: a belief in a true "Divinity that doth shape our ends, rough-hew them how we will." This is the first and great commandment. On this foundation the palace is built, but the palace may, or may not, correspond to its foundation.

The Immorality of Heathen Gods

In the earlier periods of history, all the world believed in a multitude of gods. Whether we regard Central Asia as the origin of the human race, or the Nile valley as the developer of civilization, the same conditions prevailed. Every nation and every family had gods of their own, and they were simply innumerable. Athens once had 30,000, and it was said that, in Athens, it was easier to find a god than a man. These gods represented almost everything in heaven above, in the earth below, and the caverns beneath; and with the Greeks and Romans who boasted both of advanced civilization and advanced theology, their gods represented everything that was base in human nature, rather than the virtues, according to our modern standards of morality.

Generally speaking, the moral character of these supposed gods was bad. They were of both sexes, were given in marriage, and were usually unfaithful to the marriage tie. They were thoroughly immoral. "Mercury was a systematic thief: he stole Apollo's oxen, Neptune's tri-

dent, the girdle of Venus, the sword of Mars, the scepter of Jupiter and the tools of Vulcan. He was not only a thief, but the patron and teacher of thieves."

Bacchus was the god of drunkenness, and his devotees of both sexes engaged in the wildest ribaldry and maddest extravagances. Pluto stole the goddess Proserpina for his wife, and carried her off by force. Venus, beautiful, graceful, and charming, was morally corrupt from beginning to end. The gods were always intriguing against one another, and took sides frequently with mortals in conflicts wherein brute force and cunning oppressed virtue.

Among the gods of Greece and Rome, Jupiter or Zeus was the ruler of gods and men, and was held in the greatest consideration. If the human mind, unaided by divine revelation, could have originated any true conception of God, the Greeks with their many philosophers, who were the wonder of the ages, would have accomplished the task. But the family life of Zeus and Hera, Jupiter and Juno, was disordered and shameful. They were always quarreling; always intriguing; without mutual confidence. Jupiter was generally successful by reason of his great power, but Juno often defeated him by cunning, and he once punished this "august queen of heaven" by hanging her up by a chain between heaven and earth.

Jupiter was always in some amour with a goddess or earth-born princess. Juno was always suspicious of him, and with good cause, and Jupiter was always trying to get out of his troubles with falsehoods and false oaths.

However, the religion of the Greeks — if such it may be called — was bright and sunshiny, while that of the peoples who were constantly in conflict with the Jews in Palestine, was gloomy, cruel and bloodthirsty. Among the Greeks, human sacrifices were almost unknown;

in Palestine, they were frequent, and children were constantly burned alive in sacrifice to Moloch.

The effect of these so-called religions upon the morality of their devotees is told by St. Paul:

"Being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, despiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, without understanding covenant breakers, without natural affection, unmerciful." (Romans i 29–30.)

By their fruits ye shall know them; such was the character developed by following the gods invented by a race of learned philosophers that conquered and civilized, yet brutalized the world.

In remarkable contrast with the versatile immoralities and wickedness of the heathen gods, is the character of the One God revealed to the world by His own revelation of His attributes. He gave Himself a name: it was Jehovah. He was without sex, omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent, a spirit who could not be, and must not be represented by any image. He was all-powerful and unchangeable. He had neither beginning nor ending, birth nor death, and when He intervened in the affairs of men, it was always to help virtue and punish vice in the great conflict between good and evil. Jehovah was everything that the gods were not.

Jehovah's War against False Gods

It is wise to remember that the dominant object of the Old Testament, the sacred scriptures of the Jew, was to establish the reign of Jehovah in the war against false gods. Take this out of the holy book and little remains. It took centuries of training to fix the true conception of God in the minds of even His own selected people.

It is very doubtful if the early patriarchs, even Abraham and his illustrious great-grandson, Joseph, knew that there was only One God. They worshiped Jehovah, but there is nothing in the holy writing to indicate their firm belief in His exclusive existence, Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, did not know this greatest of all facts. It was left to Moses, who has been considered the greatest human being that ever was born, and who lived 400 years after Abraham, to proclaim to the world the one great Truth that God is *one* and there is *no other.*

From Moses to the Christ, the world, except the chosen people, was shrouded in polytheism, and with the Jew, the conflict was continuous and bitter. It began with the call of Abraham, 2000 years before Christ, and the conflict is not ended; but the final victory is not doubtful. The reward of fidelity is the promise: "And in them shall all the families of the earth be blessed."

The one salient and all important fact in true religion is a belief in Jehovah, the ONLY God.

Even among the chosen people, the most literary, the most intellectual of their time — a people who have given us the choicest literature of the ages — the conflict was fierce. Under a good king, the Jews were good; under a bad king, they were bad, and went after strange gods, until finally, a terrible punishment was administered; their sacred city was destroyed, and for fifty years Mt. Zion and Mt. Moriah were without an inhabitant; carried away to a distant country, they suffered again the horrors of slavery; seventy years they were tried as by fire. The result has given us the refined gold of pure monotheism. Since the days of the Captivity, no true Jew has been an idolater. The very name of Jew connotes the worship of Jehovah.

The foundation of the Palace of Character was laid broad and deep in a correct mental conception of God.

The true commander-in-chief had organized an army of Chosen People that should conquer the world through knowledge and love — through both the mind and the heart.

The Jews' Reverence for Jehovah

The gods of the heathen were treated with profane levity. The God of the Jew was treated with profoundest respect. In choosing them as a people, He had given Himself a name, Jehovah, "I am that I am;" and with so great reverence was this name held, that it was never uttered except, in ancient times, in the temple, during certain solemn ceremonies; it was never even written, but the tetragrammaton Y H W H was substituted in its place. It was so sincerely revered that not only must His name not be taken in vain, but it must not be uttered or written at all. It became a Lost Word and it was not until the Sixteenth Century of the Christian era, that the confessor of Pope Leo X (1513) was presumptuous enough arbitrarily to select vowels and construct a name, which he called Jehovah. That name is understood by scholars to be an incorrect pronunciation of the original name, and the Jewish and the Christian world was simply startled by the presumption of the confessor in daring even to attempt to utter a name so sacred. Even to this day the pious Jew reverently says Adonai, *Lord,* and not the lost word, Jehovah.

This idea of the holiness of the name was so great that in the early part of the seventeenth century, when the wise men selected by King James I. gave to us the standard translation of the Bible, they found the tetragrammaton in the Old Testament 5989 times, and in each instance but seven, it was translated LORD in capitals. Masons will understand how the legend of the Master Mason's degree is founded upon this idea of deep reverence for Deity.

We who have been born and educated in the atmosphere of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, have no conception of the centuries of struggle, the millions of lives that have been lost, and the excruciating tortures inflicted in the fierce conflicts of the ages to establish the foundation of true religion: *There is but One God and Jehovah is His name.*

We repeat the truism, that there can be no true religion that has not as its foundation the belief in the Jehovah of the Jew, the God of the Christian.

This idea has been emphasized and elaborated upon, because it will be found that Islam, the religion of Mohammed, has few elements of what we conceive to be religion, except the elemental fact of the belief in One God, without, however, the Jews' and the Christians' reverence for the holy name. The foundation of Islam was substantially right, the superstructure nearly all wrong, and the character developed in Islamites was what we would consider immoral and brutal.

Religion and Morality

We who are accustomed to religious training in the Jewish and Christian Scriptures cannot distinguish often between religion and morality. To us, one connotes the other: religion is the tree; morality the fruit. Yet they are as wide apart as the east is from the west. Many so-called religions are wholly disassociated from morals. A man may be intensely religious and wholly lacking in morality. His brain may be right, and his heart wrong. But the true God, as a ruler over the universe and over men, in His character as an autocrat, who had a right to impose conditions on His subjects, has enunciated a code of morals that we call the Ten Commandments. They are separate and distinct from the ceremonial laws of the Hebrews.

These ancient Commandments, being laws of negation or restraint, were exactly suited to the conditions of primative mankind. But in the progress of the ages, when Jehovah sought in His progressive war against false gods to proclaim to the world a perfect moral code, He blessed humanity with a new economic, political and moral platform called the Sermon on the Mount, which is the consummation of moral grandeur and divine knowledge. The religion of the Jew and the Christian connotes an inseparable morality.

We will find that Mohammed was a teacher of true religion only in so far as *the attitude of the mind* in conversion was concerned. In the war against false gods, he was on the side of Jehovah; he destroyed idols and taught the Arabs to worship the one God, a Spirit, whose attributes resembled essentially the Jew's conception of deity. But further than this abstract conception, Mohammed never got. His was theory, not practice, theology not religion. The alleged commandments of Allah and their effect upon good morals were as wide as the heavens from the moral code of God. The fruit of Islam was immorality and hate, not morality and love.

Islam, while advancing many moral truths, emphasized the pet vices of the Arabs, and condoned habits brutal, vicious and immoral. It sanctioned polygamy, slavery and bloodthirstiness ,and its idea of heaven was a luxurious harem.

The Gospels condemned polygamy and enunciated principles that necessarily freed the slave and worked for universal peace. Christianity was promulgated by the humble and lowly, without the authority of the sword or the mace. In a single century it had permeated the civilized world and had revivified the nations with hope. It found the world ruled by a small body of patrician masters controlling a large body of slaves. To the master

only was conceded an undying soul; the slave, at his death, went back to the dust whence he came. The new religion taught that the humblest man had a soul; that character was supreme, and that heaven was full of moral slaves and hell full of immoral masters.

Repentance

A unique feature of this new religion, and one which stamps it as of divine origin, is its absolute requirement of Repentance or a changed life — an "about face" — in order to attain membership. So far as we know, this is peculiar to Christianity.

John the Baptist, who was probably the greatest and most successful preacher that the world ever knew, preached Repentance to the thousands that flocked to the valley of the Jordan to hear him. This was his one theme: "Turn away from sin;" and as an outward symbol of such repentance, he baptized his converts in the Jordan. The first sermon ever preached by the Lord was on Repentance. This was the one great topic: "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." (Matt. iv, 17.) In the conversions recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, Repentance is emphasized. It was a prime necessity to conversion (Acts ii, 38; iii, 19.) The one dominant feature of the new religion was *Repentance* by the individual, the turning away from a life of sin, and accepting the new code of morals which was to develop character. The conversion of nations, as such, was not provided for. Religion was an individual, not a national, affair. Islam knew nothing of repentance.

In 300 years this new Christian religion had conquered the world by changing the hearts of the common people, and, finally, by conquering its emperor. From that era of triumph its ranks were rapidly filled with the ambitious

and vicious, who sought its political influence and worldly advantage. Repentance, the dominant idea of conversion, was lost sight of, and elaborate rituals and political methods developed numberless sects and corrupt national character, that had little to distinguish them from Paganism.

Political and Social Conditions in the Seventh Century

By the seventh century, Europe had been overrun by the Huns, Rome was humiliated and impotent, and the new Greek empire and Constantinople were harassed by the Persians, who, in turn, had been weakened since the days of Chosroes by incompetent rulers. Universal chaos prevailed, Roman influence had entirely disappeared, and conflicts between Persians and Greeks had left them both weak and helpless. Such was the political condition of the world when a child was born in Mecca, a small, inaccessible city in the interior of the deserts of the Arabian peninsula.

Even now the wild Bedouin tribes of Arabia are free, and owe real allegiance to no one. Arabia has never been conquered by a foreign people. It has two divisions, Yemen and Hejaz. Yemen towards the Persian Gulf, is called Arabia Felix, and is in many respects fertile. It has no rivers, but an occasional deluge of rain sweeps everything before it. The people are divided into tribes, partly nomadic and partly collected in villages of rude architecture. Their tastes are simple; their powers of indurance great; their tempers passionate. Even Alexander and Caesar turned aside without caring to overrun a country that was not worth conquering.

Arabs, Bedouins or Saracens claim to be direct descendants of Ishmael, of whom the angel of the Lord

said: "He will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man and every man's hand against him." (Gen. xvi. 12.) All through the centuries they have been robbers.

"The true Bedouin style of plundering, with its numerous niceties of honor and gentlemanly manners, gives the robber a consciousness of moral rectitude. 'Strip off that coat, O certain person! and that turban,' exclaims the highwayman, 'they are wanted by my lady-cousin.' You will, of course, lend ready ear to an order thus politely attributed to the wants of the fair sex."

"The Bedouin considers himself a man only when mounted on horseback, lance in hand, bound for a foray or a fray, and carolling some such gaiety as:

> "A steede! a steede of matchlesse speede,
> A sword of metal keene;
> All else to noble minds is drosse,
> All else on earth is meane!"

Generally speaking, an Arab despises and maltreats all strangers. One of the later Califs "persecuted the Jews and Christians, ordering that they should never ride on horses, but only on donkeys and mules, and that without stirrups; that their dwellings should be marked by figures of dogs and monkeys, and their persons always known by yellow dresses; he refused them the right to enter the baths frequented by Moslems, or to occupy any office of public service; they were restricted in regard to their schools and places of worship. Their taxes were doubled and the very indications of their graves were obliterated."

In the seventh century, Yemen was largely under Persian influence. The rest of the country was divided into small tribes, many of whom were Jews who had fled to this desolate country after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, in the year 70 of our era. These

Jews, during the centuries, had assumed the characteristics, including the dress and language, of the Arabs, but there never was a time when they forsook the worship of Jehovah. Many Christians too were scattered throughout Arabia, but they were, generally speaking, of heretical sects that knew very little of the Gospels or the pure tenets of Christianity.

The Arabs were naturally poetic, and their language especially so, but, generally speaking, the people were illiterate. Mohammed could, probably, neither read nor write, and he and his followers took pride in that fact, and claimed that the Koran was a miracle on that account.

The Ancient Religion of the Arabs

Generally speaking, the people were grossly idolatrous and had all the vices, (including the destruction of female babies), hereinbefore accredited to idolaters. They seemed to have worshiped a god resembling Jehovah somewhat, but at the same time, they worshiped a large number of other gods who represented everything in the heavens above and the earth beneath. They were polygamists, slaveholders, liars, thieves and murderers, and had all the vices in the calendar. They had a certain hospitality which has been magnified by some writers, but this seems to have been a necessity in their profession as land pirates. In short, the people were, as a mass, ignorant, illiterate, immoral, deceitful, revengeful, and brutal, from the standpoint of Christian virtues.

Mecca was the religious capital of the Arabs. It had one great mosque which is now an open space surrounded by corridors, in the midst of which is the sacred shrine called the Kaaba, built into the southeast corner of which is a small dark brown stone, called the Black Stone of Mecca. This Kaaba has one small door covered with

silver, seven feet from the ground; it has no windows, and its dimensions are, substantially, 18 paces long, 14 paces wide, and 35 or 40 feet high. The top part of it is covered twice a year with a new drapery, made by a hereditary family in Egypt. Inside of the temple enclosure is the sacred well, Zem Zem, which is said to have been discovered by Ishmael, and his life thus saved in the desert. Its waters are brackish and nauseating. Tradition traces the origin of the Kaaba and the Black Stone back to the days of Abraham, and even to Adam. The Kaaba has been many times rebuilt, and the Black Stone, which is claimed to have been originally white, and to have descended from heaven when Adam left Paradise, is evidently a brownish aerolite, now broken into several pieces.

Very few pilgrims enter *inside* of the Kaaba, and many refuse to do so for religious reasons. Those who tread the hallowed floor are bound, among other things, never again to walk barefooted, to take up fire with the fingers, or to tell lies. Arabs cannot afford the luxury of slippers, tongs, and the truth. Indeed, enforced truth would put most of them out of business.

A perpetual law was enacted that no unbeliever should dare to set his foot on the territory of the Holy City. Moslems are so jealous of their holy shrines at Mecca and Medina, that any infidel known to be approaching them would be murdered. No infidel, as far as known, has been able to penetrate as far as the Holy City since the time of William Pitts, eighteenth century, Burkhardt, 1811, and Burton, 1853. Captain Burton went in the disguise of an Afghan Dervish. The new railroad through Mecca will have to be built and operated by Moslems and carry none but Moslem passengers.

Mecca was a city of merchants, who made their money by trading with the pilgrims who visited that city on

pilgrimages to the Kaaba. The very name of the province, Hejaz, signifies "land of pilgrimage" and without these pilgrimages, which are enforced on all good Moslems, Mecca would scarcely exist at all.

The hadj or pilgrimage has to be made in the month Dzuh Hijj. The pilgrims make seven circuits of the Kaaba, three times at a rapid pace and four times at a walk, stopping at various corners to recite certain ritualistic prayers and kiss the Black Stone. A courier will repeat these prayers for ignorant pilgrims for a reasonable compensation.

The pilgrimage includes a journey to Mt. Arafat and to Mina, a description of which ceremonies would be interesting, but not within the limited confines of this address.

The principal features of the old Arabic worship were idolatry and this pilgrimage to Mecca, so profitable to the tribe Koreish, which had the custody of the Kaaba. Mohammed, as a reformer, destroyed idolatry, but made few other changes that we would call material.

Life of Mohammed

Mohammed was a posthumous child and his mother died shortly after his birth. He was brought up by his grandfather who, according to custom, entrusted him to a nurse who took him out into the desert to be brought up in the pure air. He seems to have been an epileptic and subject to hallucinations and delusions.

He was descended by a collateral branch from a prominent man of the Hashim family, of the tribe Koreish, which had charge of the Kaaba and its incidental emoluments. His grandfather having died, he was brought up by his uncle, Abu Taleb, who never became a Mohammedan, but protected his nephew from the feudists of Mecca up to the time of his death. In early life, Moham-

med saw something of Arabia and Syria by accompanying caravans belonging to his uncle, and when about twenty-five years of age, he was entrusted with a business enterprise of a rich widow. His position was probably subordinate: that of a camel driver. At its successful accomplishment, the widow proposed matrimony, and they were married, although he was twenty-five and she was forty. This marriage was fortunate in many ways. It put him on a social equality with the important citizens of Mecca, and raised him above want, and his wife encouraged and, perhaps, inspired him in all of his future movements. She was his first convert, and active assistant. He never ventured to take a second wife while she was alive. She bore him six children, two boys and four girls. The four daughters survived and one of them, Fatima, married her cousin Ali, and became the mother of a line of Califs.

The deeper I study the life of Mohammed, the more I am impressed with the fact that his pretended revelations were not even sincere, but were an incident, and an instrument, in a quarrel between two Mecca families over the control of the Kaaba, and its incidental profits. This quarrel had continued for several generations and the friction was great when Mohammed's "mission" began at about the age of forty and became a valuable asset in the feud. Seven years later, the Koreishites made a solemn convenant against the Hashimites engaging not to contract marriage with any of them and to have no communication with them; and to make it more solemn, reduced it to writing, and deposited it in the Kaaba. This boycott continued for three years, when it was dissolved, Mohammed showing that it had the disfavor of Allah in that the whole writing, except the name of Allah, had been wholly eaten up by insects. We see in this incident the skill of the magician and soothsayer.

As his enemies favored the old religion, Mohammed favored the Jewish faith, and waged war on idols, 365 of which were worshiped in the Kaaba. His younger son had, however, been named after an idol. Others before him had preached monotheism in Hejaz, and at first he claimed to advocate nothing but a return to the ancient pure religion of Abraham.

Mohammed was not treated seriously, but all manner of ridicule was heaped upon him. Some called him a soothsayer, some crack-brained, some a simple liar. This was true not only in Mecca but in the surrounding towns where he went for converts.

In a dream, he went to Jerusalem one night, and from the top of Mt. Moriah ascended into the various heavens. When he told his experiences, his disciples begged him to keep quiet about it: it was too much for them even to accept, but he proclaimed it as a revelation from God, and it is referred to in the Koran.

The rock from which Mohammed said he ascended into heaven, is well known to history. It is presumed to be the altar on which Abraham attempted to offer Isaac. David offered his sacrifices upon it, and Solomon left it projecting when he leveled Mt. Moriah for the foundations of the Temple. It was enclosed, (at least a part of it), within his great altar of brass which was thirty feet square; and the hole drilled through the top of it and the one through the floor of the cavern beneath it, were used to allow the blood of the victims to flow into an underground channel, and thence into the valley of the Kedron.

The dome of the Mosque of Omar was built directly above it, a dome that is called the handsomest in the world, not on account of its ornamentation within or without, but on account of its beautiful symmetry; yet within this dome is a most elaborate network of beautiful

mosaics, in gold and silver and precious marbles and precious stones.

In visiting Jerusalem in 1879, I had convincing proof of the facts related by Mohammed, because the attending Arab, after liberal *bucksheesh,* showed me the footprints of the Prophet in the solid stone. The Prophet wore number twenty-nines. This rock wanted to follow Mohammed up into Heaven and started upwards of its own accord, but the Angel Gabriel said "no," placed his hand upon it, and it stopped still, in mid air, where it remains suspended to this day. I know this is true because the Arab said so, and he pointed out to me the finger marks of the Angel in the solid stone, when he restrained this huge rock in its upward flight. From the appearances of the finger marks, Gabriel must have had a grip like a trip-hammer.

I went into the cave beneath this rock. The Arab said that nothing supported the rock, although the walls on either side looked very strong and heavy. But the Arab having told me that the rock was suspended in mid air, without support, I was obliged, of course, to believe it.

The other remarkable things told me by the Arab concerning what had happened within this temple area, were almost enough to shatter my credulity, but, of course, I was obliged to believe the Arab as I had paid bountifully for his instruction.

After three years, Mohammed had fourteen converts. After ten years, about a dozen members of a Medina pilgrimage were converted. Medina, a small town, about 250 miles north of Mecca, was the headquarters for Jewish Arabs who were constant foes of idolatry, and it was an easy matter for these Medinans to accept a new gospel which did not vary materially from Arabic beliefs, except in the abolition of idols. In his earlier days, Mohammed was very friendly to the Jews. His first

prayers were directed towards Jerusalem, not Mecca, but finding it absolutely impossible to detach the Jews from their ancient worship, he became their implacable enemy and persecutor, causing their poets who ridiculed him to be secretly assassinated, and finally, every Jewish tribe was expelled from Arabia.

Where Mohammed got his one salient religious idea, "There is but one God," can readily be seen: it was Jewish. As Mohammed's influence was extended in Mecca, and he ceased to be treated wholly with ridicule, the family feud was intensified. Some of his adherents were banishel and went to Ethiopia. In the year A. D. 619, Kadijah, his wife, died, as did also his uncle, who had protected him, and from that time on his stay in Mecca was precarious; the feud was acute, and he had no sufficient backing at home. He seems to have lost his fortune also.

On the pilgrimage of A.D. 622, seventy inhabitants of Medina had a clandestine meeting with Mohammed, his flight was agreed upon, and all Mohammedans fled secretly from idolatrous Mecca to monotheistic Medina. Ali, his young and enthusiastic supporter, occupied Mohammed's bed, thus permitting him to elude and escape his enemies. Medina now became the headquarters of the new religion, and of a warfare against Mecca. The feud was continued from the outside. Mohammed now assumed the functions of a judge, lawgiver and king.

After the death of his wife, and with increasing prosperity, fame and power, Mohammed took unto himself wife after wife, probably fifteen in all, — twelve or thirteen in ten years, — and, strangely, all widows, except Ayesha, the daughter of Abu Bekr. Although the Koran permitted but four wives (besides concubines) the Apostle of God was, of course, an exception. His outside amours were often faulty, and not always discreet, inasmuch as

his wives sometimes caught him in offenses, but in every instance a new revelation from on high indicated that he was in the right and that he should not mind the clamor of his wives. One of his principal supporters was Zeyd, a manumitted slave and adopted son, who afterwards died in battle. He had a beautiful wife, who when seen and admired by Mohammed, was immediately divorced and married by the prophet. This created scandal, but a new "revelation" made it all right. This wife was very much inflated with pride by reason of the fact that she was the only wife who had been given to Mohammed by a direct revelation from heaven. Indeed, Gabriel rather reproached Mohammed for even suggesting that Allah would not be willing to favor him in any way that he should wish.

Mohammedans reckon time from the Hegira, or flight from Mecca (A.D. 622). Theirs was a lunar year, and this fact confuses dates somewhat. On the spot where the sacred camel that bore the prophet from Mecca to Medina halted on the outskirts of the village, a mosque was built and Mohammed afterwards built little houses around it, one for the accommodation of each wife. They were plain cabins about twelve feet square. In one of these he died and was buried.

Medina having been impregnated with the religious ideas of the Jews, was promptly converted to the new Mohammedan faith, which worshiped one God only and rejected idols. Mohammed now changed his attitude entirely. Before this time, he had been an apostle of peace; he now advocated the sword. Medina became a nest of robbers, a headquarters for land pirates. Too few to attack an army, they rushed out of Medina and fell upon the defenseless caravans of Mecca, captured them and divided the booty, Mohammed taking one-fifth in the name of Allah. The Arabs now had an incentive

to be religious. There was profit in it, and tribe after tribe proclaimed themselves Mohammedans and joined his white banner.

It will be noticed that no ceremony was necessary in becoming a Mohammedan; simply a tribal proclamation by the Sheik, an acknowledgment of the leadership of Mohammed and the declaration of belief: "There is no God but Allah and Mohammed is his prophet." Christians have the ceremony of baptism after a profession of belief in God and Jesus, as the Son of God, and after repentance for sin. The Jews had their appropriate ceremonies on receiving proselytes, but Mohammedan conversion was easy, and was accomplished by no change of moral attitude, no turning from sin.

Shortly, Mohammed was sufficiently strong to attack an army that came out from Mecca to defend the caravans. He was successful at the battle of Bedr. This gave him great spoils and prestige. Shortly after he was defeated in the battle of Ohod (625) but this did not seem to decrease his prestige, as he had no spoils with him to lose. Revelations from heaven magnifying war and commanding the faithful to extend their faith by bloodshed now became frequent.

Mohammed's moral bravery — or was it assurance? — has never been doubted, but his physical bravery has been questioned. Although present at several battles and forays, he never appeared on the "firing line." Although wounded at Ohod, it was by a stone thrown from a distance. Those were times when individual prowess was extravagantly esteemed and challenges to individual combat were common, as preliminaries to battle; but in these spectacular contests, Mohammed had no part. Ali was the most prominent volunteer and was universally successful.

In the year 628, Mohammed approached Mecca with an

army, but not being sufficiently strong to risk a battle, he enter into a ten-years treaty wherein he practically abandoned his alleged apostleship, and humbly craved the privilege of going to Mecca in the following year for a pilgrimage.

Two years later, having a larger army, he declared the treaty violated and captured Mecca without a struggle. The Meccans readily submitted, the only change required of them being the destruction of their idols and acknowledgment of the apostleship and leadership of Mohammed. The profitable pilgrimages were continued, and the custody of the Kaaba remained with the Koreish. The quarrel between families was abandoned. Mohammed had found a wider field, where there was more profit in robbery than in selling food to pilgrims.

The headquarters of the new religion was continued, however, at Medina, and within a few years, all Arabia was submissive to the prophet; all were converted to Islam, idols were abolished, and the worship of Allah established. The Moslems now turned from plundering the rich caravans of Mecca to the richer caravans of the world. They shed blood in torrents.

The net result of Mohammed's life-work at this time was the abolition of idol worship, the worship of Allah, as the one supreme being, and the consolidation of all the disorganized Arabian tribes into one compact body, under one leadership, with one dominating object of conquering everybody not a Mohammedan, and despoiling him of his wealth.

Mohammed died in A.D. 633, the 11th year of the Hegira, and was buried at Medina.

The Spread of Islam

Abu Bekr, Mohammed's father-in-law, was the first

Calif. He was an amiable old gentleman and lived two years. During this time, Kahlid, who proved to be the greatest general of his age, conquered Syria. Conquest meant a choice of (1) conversion, (2) tribute, or (3) annihilation. Of course, conversion was preferred; it was cheaper than tribute and less painful than death or slavery. While nearly every conquered people was "converted," it is only just to note the exception of the Jews who preferred tribute, death or exile, to a denial of their God.

On the death of Abu Bekr (A.D. 634) he named Omar, who was another father-in-law of Mohammed, as his successor. Omar was of simple tastes and stern habits. Under his administration, the conquests were extended remarkably and Jerusalem was captured. He made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and prepared the foundations of the celebrated mosque of Omar, which still stands on Mt. Moriah. Egypt and Persia were overthrown and "converted." "During the reign of Omar, the Saracens conquered 3600 cities, towns and castles, destroyed 4000 Christian, Magian and pagan temples, and erected 1400 mosques." The annals of the world present no parallel

After a reign of ten years, Omar was assassinated (A.D. 644) and Othman, the secretary of Mohammed and his double son-in-law, an old and slothful lieutenant, was made Calif. He was much given to nepotism and his reign was unsatisfactory, but conquests were unabated. Othman was assassinated after a reign of twelve years and from that time, Islam began to be divided into numberless sects.

Ali, the husband of Fatima, daughter of Mohammed, was proclaimed Calif, but a stronger man had appeared in Syria. Moayiyah was a strong character and created trouble. Finally, three assassins conspired in Mecca to take the lives of Ali, Moayiyah and Amru, the conqueror

of Egypt, and thus free Islam from three warring rivals; but they succeeded in killing Ali only. Moayiyah became the founder of the Omayyad dynasty of Califs that continued in power for ninety years, and during their reigns, the power of the sword was extended from the pillars of Hercules and the Pyrenees to the banks of the Indus and the Himalayas. The Omayyad Califs introduced the luxury and splendor for which Oriental pomp is proverbial.

The empire of the Arabians was now more extensive than that of the Romans, but the most remarkable feature of it is the fact that during a brief period, the Arab race developed intellectually from a childish race of illiterate barbarians to the most civilized people in the world.

The Omayyad Dynasty having become weak, it was supplanted by the Abbasid Dynasty (A.D. 750–1258) which built Bagdad in Mesopotamia, and made this capital the symbol of Oriental splendor as revealed in the Arabian Nights' tales. It was this dynasty that encountered the Crusaders.

The Arabs in Spain (A.D. 711–1492) were the schoolmasters of Europe. While Europe endured its Dark Ages, sunk in densest ignorance; when kings and princes and great army commanders could not read and write, the Arabians became the great architects, scientists, physicians, chemists, astronomers, and literateurs of the world. They translated the Greek and Roman classics and many of these priceless works are known through Arabic translations only. In pure mathematics, in geometry and algebra, in architecture, in medicine, in surgery, chemistry and astronomy, they were practically the only learned people of the world. Ignorant Europe went to school to the Moorish colleges of Spain.

Gunpowder, paper, and the compass were invented or developed during this time and the foundations of modern

or European learning were laid in the remarkable development of the Arab race during the 100 years when it conquered nearly the whole of the then civilized world.

While Bagdad was at its zenith, Jenghiz Khan appeared in the far eastern horizon, as a hideous nightmare. He was a native of those remote regions which had repeatedly poured their fierce hordes down upon the dominions of the Califs. He was born about the year 1164, in the rough region north of the great wall of China. After subduing China, indeed the greater part of Asia, and extending his dominion to the Persian Gulf, he died in 1227, just as he was preparing for further invasion, and his bloody scepter was passed over to his son. He had, it is said, by his wars and massacres caused the death of five or six millions of his fellow-beings. His grandson was the first Sultan of Persia. He captured Bagdad, putting the Calif to death, sacrificing, according to a probably exaggerated account, 1,600,000 citizens of the great capital.

Thus, amid the groans of dying thousands, and the wild exultations of a horde of victorious Tartars and Monguls, the califate that had created Bagdad, the magnificent, and for five hundred years had made it the illustrious center of art, science, and letters, was forever extinguished; but Islam did not die.

Two hundred and sixty millions of human beings still profess to follow the teachings of the prophet; five times a day they spread their mats and turn their faces towards the spot made sacred to them by his birth, and utter prayers he taught; daily the voice of the muezzin is heard from thousands of minarets boldly calling the faithful from contemplation of this world to thoughts of the next.

Before the Tartar invasion, certain Turkish captives had been enslaved in Bagdad; were freed; became con-

fidential advisers of the Califs, then household troops, and then subverted the monarchy. The grandson of Jenghiz Khan became a Mohammedan convert and the head of the Turkish line of Califs.

In 1453, the Greek empire of Byzantium was destroyed by the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, since which time the Turkish influence has been gradually diminishing.

The Koran

Let us now consider briefly the principal tenets of Islam, and its effect upon national character and the history of the world.

The revelations of Mohammed were not written down by him, but were committed to memory by professional Readers, many of whom were killed in battle. Some of these revelations were written down by secretaries on skins, bones, leather, and leaves of the palm. Fearing that these "revelations" would be lost by the death of all the Readers, Othman collected them into the standard edition of the Koran (or The Reading) as we know it to-day.

The Arabs were taught that the Koran existed from the beginning and was simply transmitted from the Angel Gabriel to Mohammed. It was supposed to be the perfection of literature. Analytical critics have determined, however, that it is about the poorest literature in the Arabic tongue, which is, perhaps, the oldest language in the world. There were many polished poems in Arabic at this time, but the Koran was merely rhymed prose or doggerel. The modern reader finds it incoherent, dull and tedious. It has no system, having been thrown together without relation to chronology or subject matter, and, apparently, with relation to length of chapters only. Its persual is neither edifying nor instructive.

It recognizes as prophets, Adam, Noah, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed, who was, of course, the greatest of them all. It recognizes as authority the Pentateuch, the Psalms and the Gospels. Without doubt, its salient idea, the unity of God, was taken from the Jewish scriptures. Of the gospels, Mohammed knew little. His objection to the Jews seems to have been their persistent refusal to recognize him as a prophet. The Christians were more objectionable because, as he claimed, the Trinity connoted the worship of three gods, while Islam was strictly Unitarian.

He preserved all the abhorrent practices permitted to the Jews in their primitive state, 2000 years before, practices that were repudiated by the Gospels. He continued polygamy, but prohibited gaming and drunkenness. While he proclaimed a mission of peace, when he was weak and powerless, he propagated a religion of the sword when strong enough to wield the sword. Says the Koran:

"Fight in the cause of Allah. Kill them wherever you find them, and drive them out from whence they drive you out; for temptation is worse than slaughter; but fight them not by the sacred mosque until they fight you there; then kill them. (Sura, or Chapter ii.)

"When ye meet those who misbelieve, then strike off heads, until ye have massacred them; and bind fast the bonds. And those who are slain in the cause of Allah, their work shall not go wrong. (Sura xlvii.)

"Ye shall be called out against a people endowed with vehement valor, and shall fight them, or they shall become Moslems. Allah promised you many spoils. (Sura xlviii.)

"From all sides the roving Arabs were allured to the standard of religion and plunder; the apostle sanctified the license of embracing the female captives as their wives or concubines; and the enjoyment of wealth and beauty was a feeble type of the joys of paradise prepared for the valiant martyrs of the faith. 'The sword' says Mohamet, 'is the key of heaven and hell; a drop of blood shed

in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting or prayer: whosoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven; at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion, and odoriferous as musk; and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubim.' The intrepid souls of the Arabs were fired with enthusiasm; the picture of the invisible world was strongly painted on their imagination; and the death which they had always despised became an object of hope and desire."

He taught extreme fatalism and predestination. No soldier by cowardice and runing away, could avoid the decree of fate; dying in battle, he went straight to paradise. The Koran ideas of heaven and of hell are as follows:

Heaven was divided into seven gardens of varying degrees of bliss; gardens of grass, and flowers, and running waters, and women of ravishing beauty housed in resplendent luxury. "Hell was likewise divided into seven parts: Gehenna, the Flaming Fire, the Raging Fire that splits everything to pieces, the Blaze, the Scorching Fire, the Fierce Fire, and finally the Abyss. In the first hell, wicked Islamites were confined temporarily; in the second are the Jews; in the third, the Christians in the fourth the Sabians; in the fifth the Magians; in the sixth the idol-worshipers; and in the bottommost, hypocrites who have falsely professed some religion. This hell in all its departments was a place which men accustomed to the trials of a hot country would consider an abode of direst misery."

"But all the glories of Heaven will be eclipsed by the resplendent and ravishing girls of paradise, called, from their large black eyes, Hur al oyun, the enjoyment of whose company will be a principal felicity of the faithful. These, they say, are created, not of clay, as mortal women

are, but of pure musk, being, as their prophet often affirms in his Koran, free from all natural impurities, defects, and inconveniences incident to the sex, of the strictest modesty, and secluded from public view in pavilions of hollow pearls, so large, that as some traditions have it, one of them will be no less than four parasangs (or as others say, sixty miles) long, and as many broad."

Every Mohammedan was to have seventy-two black-eyed wives in Paradise; not his old wives; they, as a rule, were to be in the other place.

"Mohammed alleged that the poor would enter Paradise 500 years before the rich; he also declared that when he took a view of Paradise he saw a majority of its inmates to be the poor, and when he looked down into Hell, he saw the greater part of the wretches confined there to be women."

Divorce on the part of the husband was exceedingly easy; on the part of the wife, exceedingly difficult. Mohammed required the morals of each wife to be above suspicion; his own lapses were limited by his opportunities only, and the probabilities of discovery.

Islam's effect on morality was absolutely nil. The Meccans who gave up the worship of the 365 idols in the Kaaba, changed their mode of life in no respect whatever. The frivolous ceremonies attendant upon the pilgrimage to Mecca were continued as before, and the profits thereof continued to flow into the coffers of the tribe of Koreish. They lost no profits by destroying the idols. The status of woman was far better during the "Time of Ignorance" than under the Koran.

In so far as Mohammed took his ideas of the true God from the Jewish scriptures, then 2000 years old, that is, as far as the abstract reasonings of the mind were concerned, the new theology was religious. He knew nothing of the heart religion that was to dominate the world

through the conversion of individuals, that had been propagated in Judea 600 years before.

Vain repetition in prayers that had been expressly condemned in the gospels was firmly fixed by the Koran. The only feature of Islam by which it could be distinguished by the outside world was the five daily prayers which consisted of foolish ritualism.

Friday was the holy day of the Arab, as of the ancient Egyptians, but it meant nothing but attendance at the Mosque; the daily routine of business was continued. There was no day of rest.

In the final analysis of Islam as a religion, we find that while it may have some resemblance to the philosophies of ancient Greece and Rome, of Buddha and Zoroaster, and has many commendable moral precepts; as compared with the religions of the Jew and the Christian, it had but one element, viz., the correct foundation in a belief in the One God. The foundation of the Palace of Character was right; the superstructure was wrong. There was no repentance for sin demanded so emphatically by John the Baptist, and by the Christ and his apostles; there was no outward symbol of a day of rest to distinguish them from others; no imperative code of morals that should distinguish them from unregenerate Arabs or Spaniards.

The fundamental belief of the mind was right; the operations of the will and the habits of life demanded of Christians, had no place in this new religion, so called. In other words, it was pure theology, a mere theory, not practice; it was not religion.

"And Jesus answered him, the first of all the commandments is, Hear, O Israel; The Lord our God is one Lord:

"And thou shalt LOVE the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength: this is the first commandment,

"And the second is like, namely this, Thou shalt LOVE thy neighbor as thyself. There is none other commandment greater than these." (Mark xii, 29, 30, 31.)

The dominant note in Christianity is Love "And now abideth faith, hope, *love,* these three; but *the greatest of these is LOVE.*" (1 Cor. xiii, 13.)

Islam has no suggestion of love of Allah any more than for the neighbor whom it butchers. It is bloody and made horrible by hate. No one after reading the Koran would suspect that it had even a remote connection with the religion of the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians and the twelfth chapter of Romans.

We repeat: The Jewish scriptures laid a foundation broad and deep for the only true religion, in a belief in Jehovah. Connected with that belief, an operation of mind, was the mandate to obey the commandments, an operation of the will; and led to a habit of life which connoted Character, the true aim of all moral discipline.

The Jews were not in a marked degree a proselyting people, but, generally speaking, a proselyte must be circumcised, be baptised or given a bath, and he was required, of course, to obey the ceremonial law, including the strict observance of the Sabbath and feast days. Contrary to the usual belief, the Sabbath day was not a fixed day of the week, but consisted of fifty-two fixed days of the year beginning with the first day — every New Years Day and every seventh day thereafter was a Sabbath, except at Pentecost, when there was a double, or 48 hour Sabbath [$7 \times 52 + 1 = 365$].

At no time was the ceremonial law of the Jew more strictly adhered to than by the Pharisees 1900 years ago, when the Jew was in the depth of despair, ground down under the heel of the brutal Roman conqueror, who, 70 years later, attempted to annihilate the race, destroy Jerusalem, and erase Palestine from the map.

It was at this time, at the very height of Roman power and brutal dominion, that Jesus of Nazareth was born, and announced to the world that the Jewish religion,

given to the world by God Himself by direct revelation, had been fulfilled — a religion that had thrived from the barbaric age to the consummation of Roman civilization; a religion that had produced a people of so firm character that they were willing to die for principle; a people that alone among the nations of the earth, would *not* submit to the hated Roman at the expense of their worship of Jehovah, and finally were almost destroyed and scattered to the remotest corners of the world for the simple reason that they would not be faithless to their worship of the one God. They were a race of heroes, the direct inspiration of the Christian martyrs under Nero and Diocletian. It was in these darkest days of the Jewish race that the Messiah appeared and reaffirmed and amplified the principles of the Jewish religion. He added to the ten commandments, the further code of morals known as the Sermon on the Mount. We repeat and emphasize the essentials of "good theology" from the standpoint of orthodox Christianity:

1. A belief in the one God and His only Son — an act of the mind;
2. Repentance — an act of the will;
3. Confession by baptism — the outward sign of professing the new life:
4. A life of good works intended to culminate in a character imitating the One Perfect Character.

Islam presents nothing akin to this. Judged by this standard, it is not religion, not even good theology.

The writer made a roughing tour in Syria thirty years ago, and after a rather intimate acquaintance with the Bedouins, is inclined to believe that they have not changed substantially since the days of Mohammed. They never reason from, and have no conception of, our code of morality. If I were addressing an audience of Arabs to-day and should say to them "You are all profane,"

they would answer quite innocently, "Of course, what of it?" Their use of the name of deity is frivolous and ribald. "You are all obscene; filthy inside and out." They would answer, "Yes, what of it?" "You are all liars." "Well, what about it?" "You are all thieves." "Of course, we are, but you can't catch us at it." Indeed, they will take hours to turn over a sleeping traveler and steal the blanket from under him without waking him. "You are all murderers." "Yes, of course, we would kill a Christian, but we would not kill a dog."

Religion does not connote morality with the Arab; at least, not our code of morals. The religion of the Arabs is as much a matter of merchandise as horses or camels. In their country where Islam is in political control, they are Mohammedans as a matter of course. If the strong hand of Russia should control Arabia and Asiatic Turkey, and should grant extra favors to the adherents of the Greek church, they would all be "converted" and turn Greeks in a day, and Protestants the next day if Russian influence should be supplanted by English.

When we compare the life of Mohammed, the land pirate, with the life of Jesus, the Man of Peace; and the incoherent, indecent, stupid doggerel of the Koran, with the beautiful prose of Holy Writ — when we compare the influence of the Koran on both individual and national character, with the influence of the Sermon on the Mount; when we compare the civilizations of Mecca and Jerusalem, and the moral codes of Mohammed and Jesus, the Christ — we are constrained to say, "THEOLOGIES ARE MANY; TRUE RELIGION IS ONE."

WORKS CONSULTED

"The Koran" (Sale's translation).
"Medina and Mecca" (Burton).
"The Saracens" (Gilman).

"The Life of Mahomet" (Muir; Irving).
"Half-Hours with Muhammed" (Wollaston).
"The Intellectual Development of Europe" (Draper).
"Jehovah's War Against False Gods" (Atwater).
"The Jewish Encyclopedia."
"The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (Gibbon).
"The Historians' History of the World."
"Islam" (Zwemer).

XIII

CHRISTIANITY

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There are two possible ways of thinking of Christianity. We may look at it as one religion among others, or, we may put it in a class by itself. Most of us have been brought up to think of Christianity in the first way. We have been taught that it is the supernatural religion, in contrast to all other religions as natural. They represent man's striving after God. It is God's revelation to men. They are the pitiful substitutes devised by a sinful race to meet its insistent longing for purity and peace. It is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, and the only power. It is like a pure white flower growing up out of the black mud of a marsh. It is like a lamp shining in a dark room and giving light to all within reach of its beams. Apart from Christ, the history of religion is the record of superstition, failure and despair.

But, there is another way to think of Christianity. We may look upon it from without rather than from within. We may study it critically after the fashion of science, comparing it with the other historic religions, of which it is one. This is the method taken by the science of comparative religion. When we take this position we find that it is necessary to soften our contrast. The study of other religions reveals unsuspected points of contact between them and Christianity. We read the

sacred books of the East, and we discover there the ethics of Confucius, with their wide social outlook; the monotheism of Mohammed, with its stern protest against idolatry; in the Rig Veda we find worshipers testifying to their consciousness of a present God and the joy of communion with him. We are touched by the story of the Indian Christ, Gautama, the Buddha, with his infinite pity for human suffering and his gospel of salvation through complete self-sacrifice.

It is not strange that in the interests of this new discovery many should have lost their sense of the uniqueness of Christianity. What, after all, has the religion of Jesus to give which is not found at some place or other in the ethnic faiths? Why should we not take the common-sense view of this religion as one among others, like Buddhism or Confucianism, with the excellences and the defects of its kind? By what right do we proclaim it to the world as the universal religion?

This question is not simply of interest for scholars; it concerns every one of us in the most practical way. Most of us are, no doubt, members of the Christian church; we are interested in its missionary activity. Many of us give our money to the cause; some of us have given our lives. What exactly is it that we are trying to do? What gift do we possess which others have not, which we feel constrained to share? I take it that these lectures had their origin in the effort to reach an intelligent answer to these questions. You have not been content to take your picture of the ethnic faiths from tradition or hearsay; you wish to learn from men who really know what Confucius and Buddha and Mohammed taught and believed, and what effects these beliefs have upon those who have accepted them. You wish to know what they have in common with Christianity and wherein they differ, in order that you may decide intelligently what you ought

to do. The purpose of this particular lecture is to make report of progress as far as we have gone.

I cannot be expected, in the short space at my disposal, to tell anything new about Christianity. All that I can hope to do is to interpret some of the things which have already been learned, to formulate some of the convictions which have already begun to form themselves in your minds.

And first, of the points that Christianity has in common with other religions. Christianity, we are agreed, is a historical religion. It grew up at a definite time and place, under certain definite conditions. It had antecedents, both inward and outward. It has had a complex history, in which it has touched many different forces, upon which it has acted and by which it has been influenced in turn. It appears to-day in many different forms. You are to hear of these forms in some of the lectures that follow. Some of these, it is easy to show, are the result of its appropriation of habits and ideas which it found already in existence before it. I need only remind you how much the Roman Church has borrowed from the great empire from which it has inherited its name. Our question, then, — what Christianity has in common with other faiths, — is legitimate; indeed, it is inevitable.

At one point this common element appears so plainly that it cannot be overlooked. Last week Rabbi Grossman spoke to you of the principles and ideals of Judaism. You must have felt, I am sure, as you listened to him, that the path along which he led you was very familiar ground; much, possibly all, that he claimed as Jewish you accepted as Christian. How, indeed, could it be otherwise? Jesus Himself was a Jew, and His spiritual life was nourished on the writings of Isaiah and Jeremiah and the Psalms. The God they proclaimed He recognized

as His father. He was conscious of being the Messiah for whose coming they were looking. When the disciples accepted Jesus, therefore, that acceptance carried with it the Old Testament. They bound it up with their own new scriptures as part of the Christian book. They passed it on to their converts in Greece and Rome, as they have been doing ever since in the wider missionary enterprise in which they are engaged. Isaiah and Amos are still proclaiming their gospel of social righteousness from Christian pulpits, only now the audience that they address has expanded until it takes in the whole known world.

At the risk of repetition, let me remind you for a moment of some of the points which Christianity has in common with Judaism. There is, first of all, its ethical monotheism. "Lift up your eyes on high, and see who hath created these, that bringeth out their hosts by number. He calleth them all by name. For the greatness of His might, and for that He is strong in power; not one of them is lacking." (Isai. 40, 25, 26.) "And Jehovah passed before Moses and proclaimed Jehovah, a God full of compassion, and gracious, slow to anger and plenteous in mercy and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty." (Ex. 34, 6–8.) These are utterances taken from the Hebrew scriptures, but they describe the Christian God.

There is, further, the ideal of social righteousness. "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me," saith Jehovah. "When ye come to appear before me who hath required this of you, to trample my courts? Wash you; make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes. Cease to do evil; learn to do well. Relieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless; plead for the widow." (Isai. 1, 12, 16, 17.) It is

Isaiah who is speaking, but the principles are the principles of Jesus.

And again, there is the assurance of the ultimate triumph of the good: "And it shall come to pass in the latter days that Jehovah shall judge between the nations, and shall decide concerning many peoples, and they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." (Isai. 2, 2–4.) Our Christian dream of social justice and universal peace has a long history, it seems. Eight hundred years before Jesus we find the Hebrew prophet proclaiming it.

And so we might go on with our illustration, if there were need. It is sometimes said that the God of the Old Testament is a God of righteousness and not of love, but when to-day we wish to express our Christian faith in the forgiving Father where do we go? Again to the Old Testament, — "Like as a father pitieth his children, so Jehovah pitieth them that fear Him." (Ps. 103, 13.) "Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? Yea, these may forget, yet will not I forget thee." (Isai. 49, 15.)

It is sometimes said that Judaism is a national religion, that it does not recognize the relation between God and the individual; and yet for two thousand years, when Christians have wished an expression of their most private and personal experience, they have sought it in the Psalms: "He who dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty." (Ps. 91, 1, 2.) "The sacrifices of God are a contrite spirit; a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." (Ps. 51, 17.)

Even the universalism of Christianity is anticipated in the prophets. In the 19th chapter of Isaiah, Egypt and

Assyria, the old oppressors that had ground the Hebrew people in the dust take their place with Israel as sons of God. "In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth; for that Jehovah of hosts has blessed them, saying, 'Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance.'" (Is. 19, 24, 25.)

I have lingered so long over the relation between Christianity and Judaism because the principle which it illustrates is capable of wider application. What is true of the relation of Christianity and Judaism may have its parallel in other religions also. Their relation too may be positive as well as negative. The study of comparative religion is showing us that, as a matter of fact, this is the case. The roots of the white flower reach far into the common soil, and it draws its nourishment from ethnic as well as from Jewish faith.

Thus, through Judaism Christianity is brought into contact with that group of older religions to which Israel itself owes so much. Babylon has left its trace upon Hebrew legislation and cosmogony. Persia deepened Israel's consciousness of the inevitable conflict between good and evil, and when the earthly stage proved too brief for the conclusion of so mighty a drama, lent its resurrection faith to reinforce the assurance of final victory. In the case of Egypt, the influence is less certain and the relationship more obscure.

When we turn to Greece, however, we are on surer ground. Here the dependence of Christianity is clear. We find it already in the New Testament, in the "Logos" doctrine of the fourth gospel, and the Christology of Hebrews, if not of Paul. If it be said this is form only and not substance, still it is true that Greece has furnished the form. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word

was with God, and the Word was God." (John 1, 1.) The old term which the Greek philosophers used to express their faith in the revealing activity of the infinite spirit, seemed to Christians fitly to describe their own faith in the God who had made himself known to them in Jesus, — "And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory, glory as of the only begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth." (John 1, 14.)

As we go on the influence becomes clearer and more extensive. The first systematic theologian of Christianity was a Greek philosopher, and his lecture rooms at Alexandria were crowded with men who had received their training in the schools. Greek thought furnished the words in which the great Christian creeds are written, and the Greek mysteries have left their impress upon the sacramental system of the rising Catholic Church.

It cannot be denied that this influence had its evil side as well as its good. To the Greek spirit must be traced the rise of that curious perversion which identifies faith with orthodoxy. Here, too, is the source of that introspective otherworldly religion which filled the desert with hermits, and made men think that they could serve God better in a cell than at home or at their trade. Some earnest men have felt these evils so keenly that they have had no eyes for the good in the Greek religion. It has been to them a corrupting influence and nothing more. They would have us purge this Greek leaven out of our Christianity, even if the process takes us into the New Testament itself.

What would Christianity be like if we were to take their advice? It is not hard to answer. Some of you doubtless have read President Eliot's famous address on the "Religion of the Future." It is the picture of a Christianity which has actually undergone this process of purgation. The mystic and otherworldly elements have

vanished. All is simple, plain and practical. There is no divine Christ entering the world from a heavenly sphere to make atonement for our sin. There is only a man walking among His fellow-men, preaching the gospel of helpfulness and service, and offering to those who are bowed down with the burden of their suffering and sin the hope of a day when, through the united effort of all men of goodwill, there will be less sorrow and sin in the world than at present. Can we really believe that this will be the religion of the future? If so, it will be very unlike the religion of the past.

In the same number of the Harvard Theological Review which contained President Eliot's article, there appeared side by side with it another article on the same subject. It was by one of President Eliot's colleagues, Professor Royce, one of the oldest members of the philosophical faculty of Harvard, and it is called "What is Vital in Christianity." While it has not received the same amount of public notice as President Eliot's article, for our present purpose it is no less worthy of attention.

To Professor Royce the vital elements in Christianity are the very ones that President Eliot leaves out. They are the doctrines of the incarnation and atonement, or, to speak more exactly, they are the experiences which underlie and explain these doctrines. To be a Christian, as Professor Royce conceives it, means to commune with the infinite spirit, and so share His divine life. The eternal God has entered our world of limitation and finiteness in order that He may share our experience of sorrow and imperfection, bear our burdens, atone for our sins and, through His own triumph over them, win for us that union with Himself which constitutes salvation. The human Jesus is a very winning and gracious figure, but He adds nothing essential to the ethical teachings of the Hebrew prophets. There is nothing in His story, taken by

itself, which could account for the experiences of a Paul or an Augustine or a Luther. To understand the Christianity of history, the Christianity that has conquered nations and enthroned itself in the hearts of men, we must turn to the epistles rather than to the gospels, and become acquainted with the Christ of Paul and John, — God manifest in the flesh for our salvation.

Here is food for thought. At the very moment when President Eliot is declaring that the religion of the future can dispense with the metaphysical doctrines that owe their formulation to Greece, one of his own colleagues declares that to him Christianity means these or nothing. How shall we account for this apparent contradiction? Those who, like yourselves, have studied the history of religion, will have no difficulty in finding an answer. We have to do here with two contrasted types, each as old as humanity and as immortal. Some men approach religion naturally, in the spirit of Professor Royce, and some men in the spirit of President Eliot. Every religion has its mystics and its humanitarians, its men of contemplative spirit whose eyes are turned inward and whose ears are attuned to the whispering of that unseen spirit, whose inbreathing is the breath of their life, and its prophets of social righteousness, like Isaiah and Amos, denouncing the oppression of the poor, and calling for justice and mercy as the true sacrifices which were acceptable to God. In some religions one of these types predominates over the other. Gautama was a man of the first type, and Confucius and Mohammed men of the second. But there is no great religion in which both types have not been represented. They are in religion because they are first in life.

We cannot agree, then, with those who regard the influence of Greece upon Christianity as a misfortune. Rather we must see in it a necessary step in that many-

sided preparation by which it was fitted for its worldwide work. The mystical element in Christianity may be a stumbling block to the Mohammedan, but it is a help to the Hindu. It expresses a type of experience with which he is familiar. He finds its counterpart in his own sacred books. It is the open door through which, like many a Greek Christian before him, he can pass over easily from his own faith to the discipleship of Christ.

This is not a matter of theory. It is a record of fact. When my honored friend and colleague, the late lamented President Charles Cuthbert Hall, sought a point of contact for his appeal to the Indian mind, he found it in the mystical element in Christianity.

I say they are passing over to the discipleship of Jesus, and with this I touch the other side of my subject, the distinctive element in the Christian religion, the new thing which it has to offer to men of other faiths. What is this new thing? The answer is very simple: it is Jesus Himself. In this single word we may sum up a century of study. Jesus is the new thing in Christianity. His spirit is the genius of the Christian religion, His personality its contribution to universal religion.

But this answer, like most simple answers, needs to be expanded. In what sense is Jesus central in Christianity? When we offer Him to men of other faiths, what do we give? What do we expect them to receive from Jesus? What effect do we hope this acceptance may produce upon their lives? What change will it make in their faith?

To answer these questions we must go back for a moment to the beginnings of Christianity, and ask what Jesus meant to the first disciples. Two things they found in Him, — a *new standard of conduct* and a *new point of contact with God;* and it is these which His disciples have been finding in Him ever since.

They found a new standard of conduct. From one

point of view Professor Royce is quite right in saying that there is little new in the ethics of Jesus. Most of His sayings, as we have seen, can be paralleled elsewhere. He Himself declared that He had not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil. But Jesus gave something better than a teaching, and that was a character. He not only told men that they ought to love one another, but He showed them in His own life what it means to love. He not only told them that they ought to trust God; He lived before them the life of trust. His own person was the incarnation of His teaching; In His presence goodness became more winning and selfishness more repellent. There was a contagion in His example that helped men to be better.

It has been so ever since. The character of Jesus has been the moral dynamic of Christianity. It has been the standard which Christians have ever held up for imitation. It has been the inspiration of their noblest living. When the church has grown cold and selfish and worldly, renewed contact with Jesus has recalled her to her duty. John Stuart Mill was no Christian, but he has left on record as the summary of his own life-work in ethics this conviction, that even to-day it would not be easy to find a better translation of the rule of virtue, from the abstract to the concrete, than to bid men "So live as Jesus would approve." Ethical systems come and go; His character still retains its persuasive power.

But the first Christians found more in Jesus than a standard of conduct. Through Him they were conscious of a new point of contact with God. He was not merely their master but their savior, — the revelation of God in human form, the one through whom they were conscious of receiving assurance, forgiveness and peace.

This conviction, too, goes back to the beginnings. It is as evident in the gospels as in the epistles, in the synoptics as in John. The most rigorous criticism fails to dis-

lodge it. From the first Jesus had to His disciples a divine as well as a human meaning. Through Him they felt that the unseen God had drawn near to them for salvation. This consciousness finds expression in different ways. To Peter Jesus is the Messiah whom the Jews have long been expecting; to the writer of the Acts He is the risen Saviour; to Paul and John He is the pre-existent Christ, the Son Who existed in the form of God, the Word Who was with God from the beginning. The form is that naturally suggested by the thought of the time, but the experience is one familiar to every vital religion, — the contact of the soul with God in personal salvation.

This experience, too, has been characteristic of Christianity throughout its entire history. The theological expression has changed with the changing environment, but the conviction has not been outgrown. In Jesus Christians still find the clearest revelation of God; the most direct point of contact between God and the world. His person gives content to the Christian thought of God. When we wish to show men what the unseen Father is like, we point them to Him.

The person of Jesus, then, I repeat, is the chief contribution of Christianity to universal religion. Everything else that our religion possesses may be paralleled elsewhere, but there is no second Jesus. Not all men will find the same thing in Him, and not every one will express that which he finds in the same way. Men of one type will be drawn to the prophet of social righteousness; men of another type will find their point of approach through the divine redeemer, but every one will find something that he needs. We shall be wise if we do not try to force our own view too much. We can afford to trust the God who has revealed Himself to us to make Himself known to others in His own way. Our duty is to share the best we have; the rest belongs to God.

If Jesus Christ is a man,
And only a man—I say,
That of all mankind I cleave to him,
And to him will I cleave alway.

If Jesus Christ is a God,
And the only God, I swear,
I will follow him through heaven and hell,
The earth, the sea, and the air.

Thank God, we do not have to make the choice. In Jesus Christianity offers us both the ideal man and the supreme revelation of God, and on this fact we base our confidence that it will prove the universal religion.

XIV

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

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To condense into the space at my disposal the history and development of the Catholic church for nineteen centuries is obviously a task almost impossible of accomplishment. If aught in my treatment of the subject appears as an omission or curtailment of matters which properly require fuller discussion, it is because I can give but an outline, — simply touch upon the great peaks of interest which dominate the doctrines and conception of Catholicism.

It has always appeared to me that where men differed upon vital and substantial things, little good could be accomplished either by vituperation, by epithet or by intensifying and accenting the points wherein they differed without so much as an allusion to the numerous other things in which they might be in some sort of accord. There is no need of evading such differences or of failing to state the reasons and argumentation for one's own view of them; but they need not be so disproportionately stated as to obscure the points upon which we can be heartily in unison, or at least in which we can fairly understand one another.

We are Catholics, and have no objection to being called Roman Catholics by any one who wishes to so exactly label us. But we do resent the names sometimes used, such as Papist, Romanist and Romish, for the very simple

reason that they are thus used as expressions of contempt and are intended to wound. Their use, thank God, is getting rarer and rarer, and all generous-minded Americans are too noble to fight their battles with adjectives where facts and argument are needed instead.

We are Catholics because we are of the one, great, universal church of Jesus Christ, spread throughout all the ages since His death on Calvary, and spread throughout the world in every nation, land and clime; and we are Roman because we follow the Roman rite or form of worship and are always and everywhere united with the See of Rome as the centre of union and of authority. But as the word "Roman" is not always coterminous with "Catholic," I for my part shall use the word "Catholic" throughout this address.

All Catholics are not of the Roman rite, although they are all in communion with the Holy See at Rome. We have some ten million Oriental Catholics, — Greek Catholics, Armenian Catholics, Maronite Catholics and others, — who do not follow the Roman rite or worship at all, but follow their own peculiar forms of worship, yet their faith is the same. As an example, we have in New York not only Roman Catholics, but also Greek Catholics, four churches; Armenian Catholics, one church; Syrian Catholics, two churches; — all united in one faith but differing in their rites and ceremonies of worship. The Greek Orthodox church broke away from the unity of the church nearly nine hundred years ago, but all the Greeks did not go with them. Many remained Catholics and many more returned to the faith. In America we have a flourishing Greek Catholic church spread throughout the United States, and twice as large as the Greek Orthodox church here, whose representative will follow me upon this platform. The Greek Orthodox church is opposed to the Greek Catholic church, although they both

use the same language in worship and the same forms of liturgy. But the Catholic church, whether Greek or Roman in form of worship, is one in faith and organization, while the Greek Orthodox differs from it in faith and is disunited in its own organization.

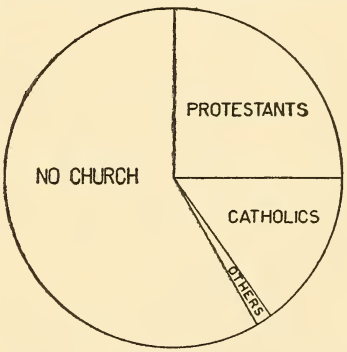
If we were asked suddenly to point to the one body which was obviously the church of Christ, a sudden glance throughout the world must be that it was the Catholic church, for that looms larger than any other Christian organization. If one were asked what church has given the greatest inspiration for art, literature, poetry and romance, one could find none other than the Catholic church. Look at the imagery for stern resolves, heroic deeds, knighthood, chivalry, renunciation, prayer and sacrifice, and you will find the sole fount of inspiration for the pen, the brush or the chisel has been the Catholic church. It is woven into the warp and the woof of all nations, all languages and all centuries since Christendom, and has become part of the nearest and dearest to our hearts, whether we believe its doctrines or no, — just as the word "Christmas" brings up the memories of Bethlehem and with it the Christ-Mass of the Catholic church.

But even take sterner things. Against what church body do the rulers and the nations of the whole earth, when they are antagonistic to Christianity, first rage and seek to destroy? What church has just suffered the entire loss of all its temporal goods rather than abate one jot of its principles of unity and right to teach its faith unhampered by the state? Turn where you will, whether in Europe, Asia, Africa or America, and notice what one particular church body is everywhere the universal target of objection or opposition among those who minimize, deny or flout all revelation from God, who advance theories subversive of moral or civil order, who teach

doctrines intended to extinguish the light which the Christian religion has shed upon all nations, and you will find by a comparison that the body first attacked is the Catholic church.

As the church which Jesus Christ founded could not hope to escape opposition and persecution any more than its Divine Founder, the observation of these things must tend to the conclusion that the Catholic church in its present, in its historical and in its universal attitude as more nearly fitting the representative church of Christ than any other body on the face of the globe. This I know is a purely negative view of the proposition, and I will not assume that it proves anything; but it is a sufficiently striking view to have us give respectful consideration to the teaching, constitution and claims of the Catholic church.

If I were asked to say what attitude the Catholic church most insistently assumes in these United States, and what lies closest to her heart of hearts, I could not find a more fitting or a more striking answer than in this chart. It is taken from Bulletin No. 103 of the Census, and concerns the statistics of Religious Bodies in the United States, taken by the government in the year 1906. It deals with all the Protestant churches collectively, grouping them under one combined heading. They have within all their respective folds less than one-quarter (actually 24. 1 per cent.) of the population of these continental United States. The Catholic church has less than fifteen per cent. (actually 14. 3 per cent.), whilst the



Jews, the Orthodox Greeks and others hold but 7 per mill of the entire population. All of these taken together make up but 39. 1 per cent. of the population, or say about 32,940,000 souls. This leaves, out of a population of 84,250,000, as shown by that census, some 51,310,000 persons who are without any church connections whatever, and, for aught that I know, have little or no knowledge of their Saviour and Redeemer, or of any God or any religion. There lies the field, the harvest is ripe; and the very best efforts can be put forth in that wide territory of homeless souls without unnecessary friction or crossing of paths. It is that wide field, filled with human eager souls varying all the way from mild indifference and ignorance to virulent animosity to Christ and His faith, which the Catholic church is most eager to reach. It is a matter of the deepest heartfelt concern to us, and it ought not to fail to be of importance to all.

In the ancient creed, the test or description of the church founded by our Lord was: "I believe in one holy Catholic and Apostolic church." That is but a duplication of St. Paul's definition: "Be careful to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, one body and one spirit, as you are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith and one baptism;" [1] and this is but an amplification of our Lord's very words: "And there shall be one fold and one shepherd." [2]

In the whole wide world to-day or yesterday there is and was but one Christian body which answers to the test of unity. Search throughout the world from the uttermost bounds of the East to the furthermost confines of the West, and we shall find but one Christian church which is everywhere and being everywhere is united. Wherever we find the Catholic church in America it is

[1] Eph. iv, 3–5. [2] John x, 16.

united in one body, it teaches one faith, it acknowledges one baptism. If we find it in England, Ireland, France, Belgium, Holland, Scandinavia, Germany, Russia, Austria, Italy, Spain or Turkey, or in Asia, Africa or Oceanica, it is the same. It everywhere teaches the same doctrine; it is everywhere in unity and in unison.

Nowhere else in the wide world can one discover a similar phenomenon. And as it is to-day so it was yesterday and throughout the centuries. Those who have left the church have always cast off something, either of doctrine or of government. They have failed either in unity of organization or in unity of doctrine and teaching. But all through the pages of history back to the very beginnings of the church the note of unity sounds through the ages as the *leit motif* of the Catholic church, and of the Catholic church alone. In the Mass, the priest since the first ages of the church has always prayed: "Thy holy Catholic church, which do Thou vouchsafe to pacify, guard, unite and govern throughout the whole world," and that prayer goes up unceasingly every day from her altars in every land. No other religion of ancient or modern times, pagan, monotheistic or Christian (except perhaps the venerable Jewish church when its priesthood and altar existed), has or ever had that mark of unity. They have not tried to live up to "One body, one spirit, one Lord, one faith and one baptism." Even now, in our own day, when most of us are tolerant of one another, denominations professing the same identical faith fail to get together in corporate union, while those that have but a hair's breadth between them stand rigidly aloof.

In no other Christian assembly at any time in the pages of history has there ever been such a wide diversity of peoples, races, divergent political views and national jealousies and antipathies among the inhabitants of the earth so welded together and so knit into one, as the

Catholic church exhibits. It alone among all the Christian faiths is truly Catholic, — truly universal, — spread worldwide in every land and people, no matter how antagonistic they be to one another; and it alone is one in the faith which it teaches and in the government which it obeys in spiritual things.

Nor does its Catholicity and unity stop here. Its faith teaches that the church, the Spouse of Christ, is one now and hereafter. It spreads from this world to the next; and the church triumphant, in the splendid vision and glorious communion with the Triune God, the church suffering, at the door of beatific rest and eternal light, awaiting entrance into the fulness of the vision and glory of God, and the church visible and militant battling here with sin on earth are all one, — one and the same church. We and they are knit together in a bond of union so strong and so close that our prayers help those who have not yet attained to the vision and the rest and the glory of God, while that great "white-robed army of martyrs" and the other saints who have attained to everlasting happiness help us poor mortals who are struggling here in this valley of tears.

We are all *one,* the blessed in heaven, the suffering at the door of heaven, and we who follow their footsteps; and our brethren who have gone before us help us with their prayers at the Throne of Grace, exactly as they would have done were they here now on earth beside us in our hour of struggle. And we help our brethren who need our prayers (as they would in turn were they kneeling here beside us, and as we would help them here), that they may the sooner be with the blessed brotherhood, the church triumphant, before the Throne. This unity and Catholicity is not only the unity that reaches around the world, the Catholicity that spreads through all ages, all races and all climes, but it is a unity and Catholicity that

reaches across the valley of death and carries us along the serried ranks of the saints clear up to the everlasting Throne of God.

The Catholic church teaches absolutely, wholly and completely the doctrine of God the Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and that the second person of the Blessed Trinity, God the Son, abased Himself into a creature and was made flesh, — being at the same time true man and true God, — for our redemption and salvation, and consummated that incarnation by His crucifixion and death upon Mount Calvary. It confesses with Saint Peter with trumpet tones that "There is no other name under heaven given to men, whereby we may be saved." [1] The incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ is the central point of Catholic theology and doctrine. It is not merely a feeble assent to the divinity of our Lord; it is the emphatic affirmance upon every occasion, at every ceremony and form of worship, nay, throughout the very hours of every day, that God became man for our salvation and for our lifting up to supernatural life. Not only do we say the prayer which our Lord himself taught us, — "Our Father, Who art in heaven," — but we say in commemoration of the fact that our Lord God became man the words with which He sent that message to the tender young maiden who was to bear Him into this world, and the very first salutation of that fact before He was even born.

Like the Archangel Gabriel and Saint Elizabeth we say: "Hail *Mary,* full of grace; the Lord is with Thee; blessed art thou among women, [2] and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, *Jesus;*" [3] and the venerable Greek Catholic church adds, "For thou hast borne the Saviour of our souls;" and the venerable Roman church adds: "Hail Mary, pray for us sinners now and at the hour of our death." We say it in humble acknowledgment of the

[1] Acts iv, 12. [2] Luke i, 28. [3] Luke i, 42.

mystery of God made manifest in the flesh. All have heard of the "Angelus," — Millet's celebrated picture is enough to impress the idea upon every one. The Angelus is the prayer ordered by the church to be said three times a day, morning, noon and night, to bring home to every Christian the incarnation of our Blessed Redeemer. The Angelus, which is almost wholly extracted from the gospels, is said as follows:

"The Angel of the Lord declared unto Mary; and she conceived by the Holy Ghost," — and then the "Hail Mary" is said.

"Behold the handmaid of the Lord: be it done unto me according unto Thy word," — and then the "Hail Mary" is said again.

"And the Word was made flesh; and dwelt among us," — and then the "Hail Mary" is said again. And then this prayer concludes:

"Pour forth, we beseech Thee, O Lord, Thy grace into our hearts, that we, to whom the incarnation of Christ thy Son was made known by the message of an angel, may by His passion and cross be brought to the glory of His resurrection. Through the same Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

These are the prayers which the peasants in Millet's picture are saying as they stand with bared heads at eventide.

Therefore the teaching of the church is not merely the divinity of Christ, as that might mean merely a human mask instead of a real humanity. It is more than that expression; it is God himself taking on our poor humanity, and thereby raising our weak human nature and frailty up to the splendid heights of God Himself. He became our brother and one of us, human as we are in all except sin, and His mother is our mother, even as He commended her to be our mother to the sole apostle at the foot of the

cross when He was dying, His brethren are our brethren, His friends are our friends, — and we without abating one jot or tittle of our worship, love or adoration of God the Son, ask His mother and His saints to intercede and pray for us, just as we would in the human family, of which He is our elder brother and head, turn to them to help us in our straits and needs. He is forever God and man, for in His ascension and glorious reign in heaven He has forever raised manhood up until it touches the hem of divinity. As the God-Man, as the Word made Flesh, He may be approached both as God and man, exactly as if He walked the earth to-day. And the priest repeats at the altar as he lifts his hands daily in commencing the great sacrifice of the Mass:

"O God, who hast wonderfully framed man's exalted nature and still more wonderfully restored it, grant us to become partakers of His Godhead who hath vouchsafed to become partaker of our manhood: our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son, who liveth and reigneth with Thee in unity with the Holy Ghost, world without end."

If, therefore, we pray to the Blessed Virgin Mary or to the saints, it is only because of and through the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. We worship Him, we acknowledge Him, we confess Him to be God, our Saviour and Redeemer; but we love Him, approach Him and cling tenderly to Him as man, — as our brother, — and we fervently ask all His nearest and dearest as men to to unite with our petitions, to assist us with their prayers, to have the whole triumphant church in heaven with the greatest of mankind at their head ring with a triumphant human unison in accord with our petitions here below. It is the humanity of Jesus Christ that we acknowledge and glorify when we ask all created saved humanity to join with us in our petitions to Him.

The incarnation, then, is the center and kernel of

Catholic faith; all else is a consequence and corollary of it. The passion and death of our Lord is His drinking the bitter wine of humanity to the very dregs; it is the continuation and consummation of His becoming man for our salvation. He took upon Himself the sins of the world as the last experience in taking upon Himself the flesh and soul of humanity, and He so identified Himself with our human life from the cradle to the grave, from the wedding feast of Cana to that ghastly climb up Calvary's hill with death at its summit. He is ours from a human standpoint, as well as from a divine one, inextricably and inseparably mingled together forever as God and man, to be loved and approached from either side.

The church never forgets for a moment the sacrifice upon Calvary. Not an instant of prayer is she without its remembrance, — the sign of the cross is the beginning and ending of all of them; she puts the cross constantly before us upon her churches, books and vestments, and unceasingly bids us remember the crucified Saviour. In commemoration of the day upon which He suffered without food or drink, she bids us abstain from flesh meat on that day in each week as some slight denial of pleasure to ourselves in reminder thereof. By teaching and precept the church keeps ever before us the culminating act of the redemption of the world.

It is obvious to every one that the human work of making known the incarnation and teaching of our Lord must be intrusted to some human society or organization. This society or organization, if it is really to carry this knowledge to all men, in all ages and in all lands, must be protected against error and must be one in its teaching. If it be not protected against error, then those who live after Christ or away from the Saviour's voice and personal presence are indeed in a perilous condition, since they have no sure means of ascertaining what His teaching was.

And if this organization is not *one* in its teaching, then the faith and religion of Christ becomes little more than a philosophical school of thought or a doctrine of economics, varying with each person, each age and each locality.

We Catholics declare and affirm that just such a society was established to effectively carry the news of the incarnation and teachings of our Lord to the uttermost ends of the earth and throughout all ages. Our Lord gave it an enduring charter: "All power is give to me in heaven and earth. Go therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. Teach them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and behold, I am with you always even until the end of the world." [1]

This is what we mean by the Catholic church. Like all human societies it has a human president or chief, and our Lord provided that chief in the most emphatic manner. I do not wish to take up space quoting texts, but the sublime declaration of Christ ought to be held in mind:

"Blessed art thou, Simon, the son of John, and I say unto thee that thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth shall be loosed in heaven." [2]

It is a declaration of position and power never vouchsafed to any other apostle. Simon the fisherman was not the first of the apostles in time, for Andrew was first called; nor the first in love, for John was the well-beloved; nor the most steadfast, for he denied his master. Yet he was the only apostle whose name was changed by our

[1] Matth. xxviii, 18–20. [2] Matth. xvi, 16–19.

Lord, and a specific reason given for that change. Even with the same breath in which He foretells Peter's denial of him, our Lord prophesies that his faith will fail not and gives him charge of his brethren. His charge over his brethren and the church is repeated even after the resurrection. As our Lord and the Holy Ghost were to be with the church until the end of the world, these prerogatives descended to the successors in the teaching body of the church, and the special prerogatives of Peter descended to his successors in office. Otherwise they were useless; and most of all to those who have lived since the days of the apostles, if they ended with them.

Even as the primitive society or church sent out to teach all nations had Peter at its head, so it has continued ever since. The teaching body of the church has deacons, priests and bishops, and as the Chief Bishop of them all, the great Bishop of the West, the Pope of Rome. He is the successor of Saint Peter as testified in every liturgy, menology and every church history from the earliest times. He is the center and focus of church authority. I have not the time to discuss the successive history and organization of the church, although I would gladly do so, or describe its battles for the establishment of the kingdom of God upon earth.

Still a word may be said of the great prerogative, — the flower and blossom of the promise of Christ that "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it, and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," — the infallibility of the Pope. "Infallibility" does not mean that the Pope is sinless, or incapable of sin; or even, to use an extreme illustration, that he can write a book on theology wholly free from error; or that he can decide without mistake upon matters of science, history, art or politics. It is confined to his solemn official judgments on matters of faith and morals when he gives judgment,

sitting as the teacher of the one, the universal church. The Pope cannot add to the deposit of faith or subtract from it. But when there arises among the teachers of the church a controversy which alleges on the one hand that a certain doctrine is of the faith, and on the other hand that it is not of the faith, the decision of the Pope sitting in his capacity as the Chief Bishop and Teacher of the whole Universal Church is unalterable and conclusive. The word "infallibility" means that his decision will not fail to be the correct one, as carrying out the promise of our Lord: "Simon, Simon, I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not," [1] under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, "The Spirit of truth, who will teach you all truth." [2]

The Catholic church comes immediately in contact with the world through her preaching and her sacraments. In these she knows neither race, color or civil condition; all sorts and conditions of men are alike at her shrines. She has been called the church of the poor and ignorant. Well, so she is; they are the very kind of persons with whom our Lord associated. She has been reproached for cultivating the rich and the powerful; but He also was the honored guest and associate of rich men and rulers. She has as many learned men as any other organization in the world, but their learning is for the supreme end of saving souls and not for earning distinction as erudite scholars. The prince, the savant and the beggar meet together at her altar rail; one can find it so here in this very city or in any of the statelier shrines of the old world; and I myself have taken communion in a resplendent church kneeling at the altar rail between a negro and a longshoreman, and in a magnificent cathedral a Bedouin of the desert has entered and worshiped beside me. Within

[1] Luke xxii, 31–32. [2] John xvi, 13.

those hallowed walls we were all equal citizens of the Kingdom of God.

Upon this great body of worshipers the church brings to bear her great sources of dynamic power, — the Sunday Mass with its accompanying sermon or familiar instruction, the confessional and Holy Communion. These are the main batteries of the church in her warfare against sin. They are the means on which she relies to build up strong spiritual lives in her children. The other sacraments are all needful, but she puts these at the forefront.

Every Catholic is obliged under pain of serious sin to be present at Mass every Sunday unless prevented by a good reason. So it is that rain or shine, in heat or in cold, our churches are crowded every Sunday. To Catholics the Mass, whether celebrated amid all the imposing solemnity of cathedral appurtenances or whether offered in an unadorned chapel of a backwoods village, is the highest and greatest act of worship. We believe that Christ Himself becomes present on the altar and blesses us and all we hold dear. There before the altar we are the equals of the multitude that daily saw Jesus when He walked and taught. He Himself said the sacrament was His body and He was God, the creator of all things. No man sincerely believing this doctrine can go back to his home and the duties of the week without comfort, courage and high resolve.

Every Sunday there is at the low Masses, which are so called because they are said in a low tone without music usually, a short familiar instruction, and at the high Masses, which are said or sung with music, the set sermon. I need not tell you, of course, that the Mass is the celebration of the Lord's Supper, with all the ceremonies and usages that have come down to us from the earliest times. In the large parishes there are from six to eight Masses

of a Sunday, so that all the members of families may be accommodated. Many times the church is filled, and at each the Gospel is read and expounded and applied to the daily life of the people. Thus throughout the year the church keeps up her mission of preaching the Gospel, now calmly explaining homely duties, now warning, now encouraging, now reproving, now pleading, now thundering against abuses, now explaining her doctrine, — always conscious of her responsibility and yearning that Christ may be in the hearts of her people.

But besides the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and the ministry of preaching, the church has the powerful aids of confession and Holy Communion. The church teaches that the sins which we commit after baptism are forgiven through the Sacrament of Penance; and the necessary conditions on the part of the penitent for receiving absolution are contrition and confession. Now, before a man can confess his sins, he must examine his conscience carefully. The soul is forced to look at itself in the mirror of God's law. Words, deeds, conversation, omissions and all that interior life of thought and will which is hidden from the outside world, but which is so large and vital a part of the soul's history, all has to stand the searchlight of God's commands and prohibitions. This serious and frequent examination of one's life in its every detail and motive quickens the action of conscience and strengthens its voice. The deliberate hauling of oneself before the bar of eternal law, the steady looking inward at one's faults, failures and transgressions, whether against God, one's neighbor or one's own true interests, is the very first step in amendment.

The declaration of one's sins to a fellow-creature is not agreeable, — it is not intended that it should be; it is a medicine for our pride, and medicine as a rule is not particularily palatable. But this declaration of sins is

incumbent upon every one in the church, from the Pope himself down to the humblest layman in any walk of life. Every Catholic knows, too, that so absolute and sacred is the secrecy of the confessional, that the confessor would be obliged to lay down his life rather than reveal what is committed to his judgment in that tribunal.

Besides the confession of sin, every Catholic knows that as a condition for obtaining forgiveness from sin he must have true sorrow, otherwise his confession is worse than a mockery. It would be sacrilege, and he would have added to his burden of sin instead of lightening it. And that sorrow must be of no vague, general kind, but very definite and practical. It must include not only regret and repentance for the past, but a resolve to be better in the future. It means the definite and firm resolution to correct the sins that are declared, and furthermore to keep from whatever might prove a proximate occasion of sin. It is all this, coupled with the recital of the sins to the priest, which entitles the penitent to absolution. But it does not end there. There is then the satisfaction, or so-called "penance," that has to be performed by the penitent. If he has stolen he must make restitution; if he has slandered he must repair his slanders, and so on, and in every instance he must perform some exercise of piety intended to call to his mind and impress on his conscience the avoidance of temptation and sin.

In the sacrament of matrimony the Catholic church has pronounced the holiest blessings upon the union of man and wife. The union of man and woman may have been a contract before, — and it was a slippery, evasive, indefinable contract, varying with caprice from divorce after divorce on the one hand to unlimited polygamy on the other, — but our Lord made it a sacrament and indissoluble. The Catholic church recognizes no divorce. She stands for the family, the home and the sanctity of

the marriage tie. And she has ever stood for that, as some of the most notable events on the pages of history have shown. And she will unceasingly cry out against all legislation or any teaching which tends to disrupt the home or the family relation.

We stand shoulder to shoulder with any set or society of men, — in or out of the church, if they mean it, — who strive to promote purity, domestic happiness and moral health, whether we agree with them in belief or not; and the Catholic church will always protect the marriage relation and keep the family together against all comers. It is the only human foundation upon which the church and state alike can build together, and it is one that needs the grace of God to keep it pure and stable.

From the beginning of her history, the church has enjoined upon all her children obedience and loyalty to the lawfully constituted authorities in the respective countries. She teaches that as the church is God's representative in the supernatural order to lead men to a supernatural end of union with Him, so the state is God's representative in the natural order, to bring men to the end for which society was ordained, the temporal happiness and progress of the race. Disobedience, then, to the state in any matter which is within the state's competence, is disobedience to God. Obedience to the state and to all just laws is loyalty to God and is patriotism blessed by religion.

In the natural order of things the Catholic church is willing to walk in company with all who work seriously and earnestly for the betterment, purity and right-mindedness of all people. In charity, benevolence and good works of all kinds she will meet all of you with a willing heart and ready hand. But in the teaching of the faith handed down by Jesus Christ she affirms that she alone has kept the whole deposit of faith intact, and the

continuity and unity of the church along with it. While, therefore, she recognizes that others have gone out from her carrying with them the greater truths of revelation and have faithfully persevered in clinging to them, she cannot regard them as safe or trusted teachers, and cannot allow her children to violate their unity of the faith by joining in worship with those not of the fold. She bids them recognize every noble, good and worthy thing which those who are out of the fold possess, — nay, in many instances where they do not concern the faith she bids us imitate and adopt them. And so in the battle against wrong and sin and foulness, and in the desire and yearning to make this the noblest country under the sun, we may join hands with you in effecting results, although we may not serve even temporarily under your banner or attend your martial exercises.

But we may do something more, — we may pray for you and pray with you although apart from you. In the last analysis the Catholic church recognizes every baptised person as a member, and nothing but his own act, in wilfully rejecting the light of God afforded him by the teaching of the church, and sinning deliberately against the grace of God, can deprive him of the supernatural end which the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ and His death on the cross prepared for them that believe on Him.

I cannot forbear concluding this brief outline of the work and teaching of the Catholic church with the well known quotation from Lord Macaulay:

"There is not and there was not on this earth a work of human policy so well deserving of examination as the Roman Catholic church. The history of that church joins together the two great ages of human civilization. No other institution is left standing which carries the mind back to the times when the smoke of sacrifice rose from the Pantheon and when the cameleopards and tigers bounded in the Flavian

amphitheatre. The proudest royal houses are but of yesterday as compared with the line of the Supreme Pontiffs.

"The Catholic church is still sending forth to the farthermost ends of the world missionaries as zealous as those who landed in Kent with Augustine, and it is still confronting hostile kings and governments with the same spirit with which she confronted Attila. The number of her children is greater than in any former age. Her acquisitions in the new world have more than compensated for what she may have lost in the old.

"Nor do we see any sign which indicates that the term of her long dominion is approaching. She saw the commencement of all governments and of all ecclesiastical establishments which now exist in the world; and we feel no assurance that she is not destined to see the end of them all. She was great and respected before the Saxon had set foot in Britain, before the Frank had passed the Rhine, when Grecian eloquence still flourished in Antioch, when idols were still worshiped in the temple of Mecca. And she will still exist in undiminished vigor when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of Saint Paul's."

XV

GREEK ORTHODOX CATHOLICITY: RELIGION OF SYRIA, GREECE, RUSSIA, ETC.

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I am to treat of a church and her Catholicity which is the oldest, and claims to be the safest, way to reach unadulterated "Truth as it is in Jesus." (Eph. iv. 21.) She has been very little known to the United States.

For a thousand years Mohammedanism has acted like a dark cloud-barrier between Eastern and Western Christianity. It is now lifting. For three hundred of these years the war has been so fierce between Protestantism and Romanism that controversialists have befogged all other considerations. This conduct is dying out. To-day looming up in grandeur and majesty over the wrecks of time rises the cross-crowned spire of the great Holy Orthodox Church of the East.

Let me reveal her historical position and Catholicity:

Early Missionary Field of Action

There are names of certain cities which the followers of Jesus Christ, from age to age, will ever hold dear, viz., Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople. Preëminently these cities eclipse all others in ecclesiastical dignity, for in them, as in no other, ancient, unadulerated truth — "The Faith once for all delivered to the Saints" (St. Jude, 3) — was proclaimed. Associated with them are recorded the wonderful achievements of the church

of God. Indeed, in one of them the very name "Christian" was first given to believers in the Incarnate God — the Christ.

In and near Jerusalem took place the Mystery of Sorrow, the sacred Passion, the ignominious Death on the Cross, the gloom of the Tomb; then the glorious Resurrection, the Ascension of Jesus, and the Birth of the Church, namely, the descent of the Holy Ghost on the Day of Pentecost. Jerusalem claims the honor of the first Christian council and the first visible human head, if any, of the whole church, viz., St. James the Apostle (Acts xv, 13), and not St. Peter. It was from the church of Jerusalem light flashed all over the world. From her life sprung, and out of her divinely-filled fountain, inspiration flowed through the sacramental channels to give hope and immortality to a dying world. Yes, to assure believers of "an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven." I St. Peter i, 4.) Jerusalem also claims an unbroken succession of bishops, many of whom were cousins after the flesh to our dear Lord; and the line in that order of the ministry still exists in the Orthodox church of that famous city.

And Antioch, — who does not love Antioch on the banks of the beautiful Orontes? — Antioch the headquarters of St. Paul's great missionary journeys. Antioch, not Rome, the real and only unquestioned apostolic seat of St. Peter, for he dwelt in and presided as Bishop of that city seven years. (All veritable ecclesiastical historians agree in this.) But more, we of to-day when we grow weary of sectarianism, nationalism, churchism and all shibboleths which stain Christ's holy religion; when we realize that there is a great deal of malaria around the rock of each portion of the church, one and all fall back on a certain Glorious Name as a

resting place which, if the inner life corresponds with the outer confession, makes every one of us glow with Divinity like as Christ — our Life and Light — on the Mount of the Transfiguration. I refer to the name "Christian;" for it was in this city of Antioch that the followers of Christ "were first called Christians" (Acts xi, 26).

And Alexandria, the Episcopal seat of St. Mark, who wrote the second Gospel and who was her first Bishop; the home of martyrs and saints; the University of Christian Theology; the Patriarchal See of that greatest sub-apostolic hero of the Faith, — St. Athanasius. Athanasius, who though the world seemed to be against him in his great defense of Christ's Divinity, and he against the world in defense of Truth, left to us that "True Catholic Faith which, if a man keeps whole and undefiled he shall not perish everlastingly," namely, "that we worship One God in Trinity and Trinity in Unity, neither confounding the Persons nor dividing the Substance" (Creed of St. Athanasius; *vide* Church of England Book of Common Prayer).

And there is still another city, though now under the cursed yoke of a government which for its lust and rottenness surpasses our conception of human depravity; and yet, because of the cowardice and jealousies of so-called Christian nations is permitted, as an anti-Christ, to exalt her iniquitous head over the High Altar of the Cathedral of St. Sophia. I refer to the city of Constantinople. It was in this city that the second, fifth and sixth general councils of the whole Catholic Church assembled. And it was in the second of these the great Symbol of Faith, the Nicene Creed, was finished. It was in this city St. Chrysostom sat as Patriarch — Chrysostom the golden-mouthed preacher; the great reviser of the Liturgy of St. James, Bishop of Jerusalem, which to-day is the service or Liturgy of 150,000,000 of Orthodox Catholics.

Jurisdiction

If we have at all any respect for scriptural, apostolical and sub-apostolical as well as early church injunctions, the whole domain of countries which surrounds those great patriarchal cities, to which I have referred, should be left inviolately to the Christian safe-keeping of the Holy Orthodox Catholic Apostolic Church, or, as she is generally known, "The Holy Eastern Church." She has been there in that field from the first dawn of Christianity. The fact that her very *birth was* and present *existence still is* in that region as a Christian Church, makes it a sin for either Rome or Protestantism to disturb her ancient landmarks. Both could well spend their many talents and energy in converting the heathen and building up the wall over against their own houses without striving to pervert a church which claims that she holds "the Faith once for all delivered to the Saints." At most, Rome and Protestantism ought only to support her in her stand against the encroachment of Mohammedanism without weakening her by intrusion and confusing her children with conflicting and strange doctrines. The Anglican Church alone, of all Western Christendom, refrains from interference. Remember, the sin of schism is the parent of infidelity and atheism.

Allied with the four ancient patriarchates are the other national Churches under Holy Synods as a governing power. They are those of Russia, Greece, Servia, Roumania, Montenegro and several independent Churches which need not be enumerated.

The greatest of all the national Churches of any creed in the world is the Holy Orthodox Church of Russia with her 90,000,000 of members. She, too, is the greatest defender of the Ancient Faith of Christendom. A great wrong is being done to her by prejudiced writers by say-

ing that the Czar is the Pope or Head of the Church. Those who say this must be either ignorant, prejudiced or men who speak and write falsely. In things spiritual neither in Russia nor in any section of the Orthodox Church, does she own any head but *Jesus Christ.* The Czar is only the "Defender of the Faith" in Russia, which is quite a different thing from being the Head of the Church.

Two-thirds of the historians of secular history, and, alas, too many of sacred, are but copyists. Therefore, from age to age lies are handed down to us. It is only when some honest character seeks the truth and proclaims it, however unpalatable, that the world begins to open its eyes. This is true in the case of Christianity itself. Turn over, for a striking instance, to the Gospel of St. Matthew, xxviii chapter, 11th to 16th verses. Read there how the Jews are being deceived unto this day by the shrewdness, timidity and lying of the ecclesiastical politicians, the chief priests and elders of long ago. They paid the Roman soldiers to say that while they slept the disciples came and stole the body of Jesus; "And this saying is commonly reported among the Jews until this day."

So, for reasons best known to those who are afraid of the issues of unadulterated Catholic Truth, is the lie being scattered like hoar-frost, "The Czar is the Head of the Greek Church." But let me say as an Anglo-Celt and an American citizen, that while he is only a first-honored son, yet he is a thousand times a greater blessing to his people than his lying critics.

Still while the Holy Eastern Church claims absolute jurisdiction over the before-named countries, she feels it a duty to raise her standard as a witness of antiquity everywhere the Faith of Christ and His Apostles has been unscripturally added to or taken from in order that all

men may know "the Truth as it is in Jesus" — and knowing it, find rest for their souls.

We all wish to learn one of another and to drink in inspiration one from the other irrespective of religious opinions or national prejudices. We are neither fighting nor discussing men, but rather ecclesiastical systems. Every bit of narrowness, therefore disappears. The United States is one of the greatest leaveners of nations. Unity and Harmony without enforced Uniformity can be seen all around. We believe that each man and woman is entitled to his and her conscientious convictions, and that Divine Truth must and will prevail whether it is the possession of so-called enemies or friends. I realize the fact that a dead orthodoxy is worse than a live heterodoxy; but I am to speak of a living orthodoxy.

It is with this sense of fairness, honesty of purpose and Christian charity, that historically, doctrinally, liturgically and ceremonially, yet altogether too briefly, I am to speak.

The Name of the Church

The name of the Church is striking and suggestive: "The Holy Orthodox Catholic Apostolic Church." Let us for a moment dwell on the signification of this name. I will ever, where I can, use her own technical language as found in her catechism, to express her interpretation and teaching. In this way whatever I say will be authoritative. In fact, this whole lecture is given by authority.

"She is *Holy,*" saith her catechism (Catechism of Russian Orthodox Church), "because she is sanctified by Jesus Christ through His passion, through His doctrine, through His prayers and through the Sacraments." "Christ loved the Church," saith St. Paul, "and gave Himself for it, having cleansed it with the washing of

water by the Word, that He might present it to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing but that it should be holy and without blemish." (Ephesians v, 25, 27.) (Russian Catechism.)

"She is *Orthodox*" (which means "rightly believing"), "for the same reason that she is *Apostolic;* because she has from the Apostles, without break or change, both her doctrine and the succession of the gifts of the Holy Ghost through the laying on of consecrated hands." (Ephesians ii, 19, 30.) (Russian Catechism.)

"She is *Catholic* because she is not limited to any place nor times, nor people, but contains true believers of all places, times and peoples." (Russian Catechism.)

"She is the *Church* because she is a Divinely Instituted Community of Men, united by the Orthodox Faith, the Law of God and the Sacraments." (Russian Catechism.)

She is commonly called "The Holy Eastern Church", and the whole world whether Christian or heathen, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, concedes this to her and calls her by this name. She herself gives her reasons for gladly accepting and calling herself by this name. For instance, "In Paradise planted in the East was founded the first church of our Parents in Innocence; and in the East, after the Fall, was laid a new foundation of the Church of the Redeemed in the promise of a Saviour. In the East, in the land of Judea, our Lord Jesus Christ having finished the work of our salvation, laid the foundation of his own proper Christian Church; from thence she spread herself over the whole universe, and to this day the Orthodox Catholic Ecumenical faith, confirmed by the Seven Ecumenical Councils, is preserved unchanged in its original purity in the Ancient Churches of the East, and such as agree with her." (Russian Catechism.)

In contradiction to the term Roman Church or that

of the fifth of the Ancient Patriarchates which was planted by Greek missionaries in the city of Rome, the Imperial Seat of the Latin or Western Empire, she is spoken of as "The Greek Church." But pre-eminently is she Greek, for the Blessed Lord himself spoke not only Aramaic but also Greek, the Evangelists wrote in Greek the Gospels and the Epistles, or translated, as in the case of St. Matthew's Gospel, from Hebrew into Greek, and St. Mark's from Alexandrian Latin into Greek. In the Greek or Eastern Empire all the seven General Councils were held, and their canons and definitions were written in the Greek language. In Greek was the Nicene Creed written. In Greek was the first Liturgy written, and even the Church of Rome used Greek in her services instead of Latin for nearly the first three hundred years. Indeed, Greek was the universal language of the church, for many centuries; though, of course, she preached the Gospel and always sang her services in the dialect of barbarous nations wherever Greek was not understood, for she strictly obeyed, as she obeys still, the Scriptures that, the Gospel should be said in a language understood of the people so that all men may be able to intelligently say "Amen." (1 Corinthians xiv., 16.)

Historical Position

Let me now take up her Historical Position. In doing this I must necessarily somewhat recapitulate.

The Holy Eastern Church's position as a historic Church is impregnable. Jew and Gentile, Christian and Anti-Christian, Anglican and Protestant, acknowledge this as a fact. There is no need, therefore, of trying to prove that which is universally admitted. She truly is founded "upon the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone." (Ephesians ii., 20.) From

her the peoples of the world first received the knowledge of Christ. Her founders, the Apostles, were the first bishops and missionaries of the Catholic Church. It was in her Sacred Womb the increase of the Apostolate was conceived in Jerusalem which gave a St. Mathias instead of a Judas Iscariot, which gave spiritual birth to a Barnabas, a Paul, a Timothy, a Titus, a Mark, a Clement Romanus, an Ignatius, a Polycarp, and sons of the first, second and third centuries too numerous to be mentioned. Brave heroes of the Faith, who lived and sacrified their lives for the Christ Who alone is the Eternal Hope and Salvation of mankind; for saith He, "If ye believe not that I am He, ye shall die in your sins." (St. John viii, 24.) They are the men to whom the whole Christian world looks back to-day with gratitude, for the twelve Apostles could all say for an assurance even to us of the twentieth century, what St. John the Divine wrote in his first Epistle, "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of life (for the life was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness, and shew unto you that eternal life, which was with the Father and was manifested unto us:) That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us, and truly our fellowship is with the Father and with His Son Jesus Christ." (1 St. John, i, 1, 2, 3.) Yes, that unbroken fellowship every member of the Holy Eastern Church claims and historically possesses. It may without controversy be truly said that she is the parent Church of all Christian Churches, whether they be Roman or Anglican or Protestant, and that as such she ought to take her place in every land, in every city, in every hamlet, so that those Churches which have either added to or taken from the Faith of the first seven General Councils, namely, Nicea,

Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, 2nd and 3rd of Constantinople and 2nd of Nicea, may correct their creeds, articles and charts by her original and scriptural standard of " the Faith once for all delivered to the Saints."

The Church's Unchangeable Position

It is cheering to know that the Holy Eastern Church, Scriptural, Orthodox, the mother of all Christendom, has not changed perceptibly one whit since the last of the twelve Apostles, St. John the Divine, fell asleep. The ministry which she had then she has now (threefold in its nature or orders, Bishops, Priests and Deacons). The Liturgy and worship she had then in its simplicity or elaborateness, the Doctrine and Discipline, are those which she possesses this very moment. As the Bride of Christ, though ancient of days, she is filled with the bloom of eternal loveliness and youth, and therefore the virtuous moral and spiritual guide, the teacher and the true home of the souls of men.

Her External Structure

The external structure of the Holy Eastern Church, though she began her chancel in Jerusalem extending it eastward from where her Divine Head shed His Sacred Blood, gradually flung her arched transepts northward and southward and her nave westward toward the setting sun. Thus we see the Apostles from Jerusalem going north and south and traveling westward until the Gospel was heard and planted as St. Paul says in " the ends of the world " (Romans x., 18.) She is in New York, in San Francisco, the best friend and hope of Alaska, through the wilds of cheerless Siberia, indoctrinating China, convert-

ing Japan, binding in her great orthodox bosom, under the great dome of heaven, surmounted by the Cross of Christ and alone under His headship, the continents with their peoples. Wherever the Nicene Creed is said, as handed down from the General Councils without the Romish interpolation; she is there. Wherever the New Testament is read, every word of which her sons wrote; she is there. Please remember that *not one* general council was ever held outside her early territorial field, — those councils which declared to us the canon of Holy Scripture, that is, what were the true Books of the Bible, and proclaimed for all ages the true interpretation of the same in the Nicene Creed.

The Causes of Schism between East and West

Before I pass on, I must here give a bit of history to those who perhaps are not conversant with the cause of the sad schism between the Ancient Orthodox Church of Christ, of which I am speaking, and what is known as the Roman or the Church under the Patriarch or Pope of Rome. His Patriarchate originally was very limited, its most northern point being the city of Milan ("English Roman Catholics and the Papal Court," by Galton),

For 800 years the whole Church was united. She was all orthodox. She was held together by acceptance of the Seven General Councils, though the Western Patriarchate, Rome, tried frequently to "lord it over" the rest of "God's heritage." (1 Peter v, 3.) Her attempts were all failures. All of her references to Ancient Authorities are either based on fiction or the perverted language of early writers. Greeks were the first theological writers. Rome finds no help in them. Even her great early western supporter St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, fell from under, by saying that he was mistaken

in his declaring St. Peter as the Rock on which the Church was founded. And for shame, the words of St. Ireneus have been grossly twisted and mistranslated as to Rome being the center. The Pope of Rome had to sign the canon and decrees of the Fourth General Council, Chalcedon, just like the other patriarchs and members of the Council and thus seal his own and his successors' fate in reference to the false doctrine of supremacy. The 22nd Canon of Chalcedon placed Constantinople and Rome on the same level of spiritual power.

The real and first cause of the break between the East and West was when Rome, contrary to the Seven General Councils, interpolated the Nicene Creed. She inserted the unscriptural doctrine of the "filioque" first suggested by the Spanish Council of Toledo A.D. 589.

The original Nicene Creed reads, in its seventh article, "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, *Who proceedeth from the Father,* Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified." The Pope of Rome unwarrantably inserted the Toledo words, "filioque," making the article read "The Holy Ghost Who proceedeth from the Father *and the Son*" (Latin, "filioque"). This was contrary to the consent of the whole Eastern Church, which had four-fifths of the Patriarchates, and contrary to the Seven General Councils, which never used such words. But chiefly contrary to the express words of Jesus Christ Himself, Who says, "But when the Comforter is come whom I will send unto you from the Father even the Spirit of truth which proceedeth from the Father, He shall testify of Me." (St. John xv, 26.)

Several attempts on the part of popes of Rome and emperors both of the East and West, nearly all of political nature, were made to reunite the Eastern and Western Churches. All failed for the reason that the Eastern

Church would not consent to move away one step from "the Faith once for all delivered to the saints," as St. Jude says. "Rightly believing," she was unwilling even in the face of political persecution and the scourge of hell, Mohammedanism, — yes, and equally as vile, some of the crusades to sell her birthright for a mess of political pottage and worldly help; or acknowledge the supremacy of Rome, which was never heard of in early ages; or accept doctrines which were contrary to both the Holy Scriptures and the General Councils.

The final rupture took place in A.D. 1054, when Pope Leo IX. of Rome tried to usurp authority over the Patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Cerularius. On the refusal of the latter to betray the Eastern Church, the pope withdrew from communion with the whole East. The Eastern Patriarch in turn excommunicated Pope Leo IX. and his followers. Thus the Latin Church became of her own voluntary act schismatical. Rome to-day instead of being the Catholic Church, is, alas, the Mother of Schism; the Unity of Christendom on her basis is forever barred.

The further attempts of union at the Councils of Lyons, 1274, was also a political scheme, and that of the Council of Florence unworthy of the Western Patriarchate, a disgrace even to Christianity which was quickly resented by the whole Eastern Church by an absolute refusal to accept the proposed articles of the union. She once for all ignored any attempts of reunion excepting on the platform of Holy Scriptures, the witness of the Anti-Nicene Fathers and the Seven General Councils.

The Faith and Doctrine

The Orthodox Church's Faith is that expressed in the Nicene Creed free from the interpolation to which I have

already referred. Any doctrine promulgated by any portion of Western Christendom, whether by the Roman Church or Protestant Churches, which is contrary to the universal teaching of the whole Christian Church both East and West before the close of the eighth century, the Orthodox Church repudiates. She declares and believes that no portion of the Church can promulgate a doctrine as binding upon the whole Church without universal consent. Therefore, she teaches any doctrines of Rome, after the close of the Seventh General Council, A.D. 784 (such as the Supremacy of the Pope, his Infallibility, the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, by which you must understand that the Mother of the Virgin (Anna) immaculately conceived her daughter Mary, whom the Eastern Church reveres as ever virgin, the Mother of God), as unscriptural, unchristian and unhistoric, and not necessary to salvation.

The late Archbishop Hughes of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York had printed in his Catechism: "Infallibility is a Protestant lie, and no doctrine of the Catholic Faith." It was only in my lifetime that the Roman Church declared this doctrine as a matter of Faith. Poor dear Archbishop Hughes, may his soul rest in peace, must turn in his grave, for Rome has become Protestant (?) in this respect since the last Vatican Council which promulgated Infallibility as a doctrine necessary to salvation. The first edition of Hughes' Catechism has been made to conform to later teaching. His declaration has been expunged. But equally ridiculous is Rome's declaration of papal infallibility when we resort to history, and note that in the very General Councils which she accepts some of her popes were anathematized as heretics, notably Pope Honorius.

The Sacraments

The Orthodox Church has Seven Holy Rites which she calls Sacraments. Her definition of a sacrament is quite simple, viz., "A Mystery or Sacrament is a Holy act through which grace or in other words the Saving power of God works mysteriously upon Man." (Russian Catechism.)

First. The first of these is "Baptism" (Russian Catechism), — "a sacrament in which a man who believes having his body thrice plunged in water in the name of God the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, dies to a life of sin and is born again of the Holy Ghost to a life spiritual and holy." She bases her authority on the express words of Jesus Christ in St. John iii, 5, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter the Kingdom of God."

Second. Her second Sacrament is "Unction with Chrism," namely, Confirmation, or "A sacrament, in which the baptized believer, being anointed with holy chrism on certain parts of the body, in the name of the Holy Ghost, receives the gifts of the Holy Ghost for growth and strength in spiritual life." (Russian Catechism.) As St. John says in his 1st Epistle ii, 20, 27 verse, "But ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things. And the anointing which ye have recieved of Him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you; but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie; even as it hath taught you, abide therein;" and again as St. Paul says in 2nd Cor. i, 21, 22, "Now He which establisheth us with you in Christ, and hath anointed us, is God: Who hath also sealed us, and given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts." The priest in the administration of this sacrament anoints "the forehead" to sanctify "the mind or

thoughts," "the chest" to sanctify "the heart or desires," "the eyes, ears and lips" to sanctify "the senses," "the hands and feet" to sanctify "the works, and whole walk of the Christian."

Third. "The Communion is a Sacrament, in which the believer under the form of bread and wine partakes of the Very Body and Blood of Christ, to everlasting life." (Russian Catechism.) She uses the exact words of our Blessed Lord in consecrating the Blessed Sacrament as found in St. Matt. xxvi, 26, 27, 28: "Take, eat, this is My Body; Drink ye all of it, for this is My Blood of the New Testament." Neither Christ nor His disciples offered any form of explanation. She believes that it is His Very Body and His Very Blood. She worships Christ objectively present. She believes Him present whether the recipient believes it or not. (1 Cor. xi, 26, 27, 28, 29.)

Fourth. "Penitence is a Sacrament, in which he who confesses his sins is, on the outward declaration of pardon by the priest, inwardly loosed from sins by Jesus Christ Himself." (Russian Catechism.) The Apostles were promised by Jesus Christ in the eighteenth chapter of St. Matt., 18th verse, power to forgive sins to the penitent and to bind them upon the guilty, when He said: "Whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven." And after His resurrection, we read in St. John's Gospel, xx, 22, 23, He actually gave them this power, saying: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost: Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained." This power the priests of the Church still hold, for Christ said: "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world," meaning to you and your successors. See St. Matthew, xxviii, 20.

Fifth. "Matrimony is a Sacrament, in which on the free promise of the man and woman before a Priest and the Church to be true to each other, their conjugal union is blessed to be an image of Christ's union with the Church, and grace is asked for them to live together in godly love and honesty, to the procreation and Christian bringing up of children." (Russian Catechism.) St. Paul, paraphrasing on the words of the Old Testament, and repeating the words of Christ, says, "A man shall leave his father and mother and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. This Sacrament is great; but I speak concerning Christ and the Church." (Ephesians v, 31, 32.)

Sixth. "Orders are a Sacrament, in which the Holy Ghost, by the laying on of the Bishop's hands, ordains them that be rightly chosen to minister sacraments, and "to feed the flock of Christ." There are three degrees of orders, — those of Bishops, Priests and Deacons. The Deacon serves at Sacraments; the Priest hallows Sacraments in dependence on the Bishop; the Bishop not only hallows the Sacraments himself, but has power also to impart to others, by the laying on of his hands, the gift and grace to hallow them." (Russ. Cate.) St. Paul says (I Cor. iv, 1), "Let a man so account of us, as of the Ministers of Christ, and stewards of the Mysteries of God." And again: "Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which He hath prepared with His own blood" Acts xx, 28.

This ministry she teaches originated "from Jesus Christ, and from the descent of the Holy Ghost on the Apostles; from which time it is continued in unbroken succession, through the laying on of hands, in the Sacrament of Orders." (Russian Catechism.)

Seventh. "Unction with oil is a Sacrament, in which, while the body is anointed with oil, God's grace is invoked on the sick, to heal him of spiritual and bodily infirmities." (Russian Catechism.) Christ Jesus must have commanded His Apostles to anoint the sick, for we read of what they did in St. Mark vi, 13, viz.: "They anointed with oil many that were sick and healed them." St. James, in the fifth chapter of his Epistle, verses 14, 15, commands: "Is any sick among you? Let him call for the elders (namely, priests of the church); and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins they shall be forgiven him."

She administers the first three sacraments to infants, after the example of the ancient Church, for she believes that no one can be a fitter recipient of grace (it being wholly the gift of God) than an infant. As a mother she feeds her children from infancy. — St. Peter says: "Grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ." (II. Peter, iii, 18.)

The Unity between the Church Militant and the Church at Rest

In a very brief way, but in her own language, I have given the Holy Eastern Church's definition of the Sacraments and her Scriptural authority. I now may pass on a little farther. The sacraments are certainly to unite fallen man to his perfect Creator. But "the Church, though visible so far as she is upon earth, and containing all Orthodox Christians living upon earth, still is at the the same time invisible, so far as she is also partially in heaven, and contains all those that have departed hence in faith and holiness." (Russian Catechism). Indeed, the

relationship between the earthly saint and the heavenly is very close. To quote St. Paul's words, Heb. xii, 22, 24, which will show us the intercommunion, "Ye are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus Christ the mediator of the new covenant."

The Church therefore teaches that there is "unity between the Church on earth and the Church in heaven" (Russian Catechism), "both their common relation to one Head, one Lord, Jesus Christ, and by mutual communion with one another." She also teaches as a consequence of this union that there is a communion between the Church on earth and in heaven by "prayer of faith and love. The faithful who belong to the Church militant upon earth, in offering their prayers to God call at the same time to their aid the Saints who belong to the Church in heaven; and those standing on the highest steps of approach to God, by their prayers and intercessions purify, strengthen, and offer before God the prayers of the faithful living upon earth, and by the will of God work graciously and beneficially upon them, either by invisible virtue or by distinct apparitions, and in divers other ways."

The Invocation of Saints

The Church sees no reason why she should not invoke the aid of the Saints at rest when she has for example David, when he cries out: "O Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and of Israel, our fathers," I Chron. xxix, 18. And the Evangelist St. John, in the Revelation, viii, 3, 4, gives us testimony of "the mediatory prayer of the

Saints in heaven" when he tells us that he saw in heaven "an Angel, to whom was given much incense, that he should offer it, by the prayers of all Saints, upon the Golden Altar which was before the throne; and the Smoke of the incense ascended up by the prayers of the Saints out of the hands of the Angel before God."

Heaven, is nearer to us than Boston is to New York. I can speak from New York through a telephone to a friend in Boston. Why not through prayer — God's own ancient telephone, never out of order — speak with a friend in a nearer place? Heaven is where Christ is present. The spiritual law of Religion surely is as great as the physical law of Science. To doubt it would be folly.

The Intermediate State

The Orthodox Church is explicit in her teaching. She believes in an intermediate state where the souls of the faithful await the Resurrection of the flesh from the grave. She holds the teaching of Jesus Christ that those who wilfully do not believe in Him as the Incarnate Redeemer, as well as the unrepentant man, die in their sins and are consigned by their conduct to a place where there is neither joy nor hope, to await the Judgment Day.

The Infallibility and Impeccability of the Holy Catholic Church

She teaches in her Catechism that "The Catholic Church cannot sin or err, nor utter falsehood in place of truth, for the Holy Ghost, ever working through His faithful ministers, the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, preserves her from error. (Russian Catechism.)

Sole Authority

She affirms that "the only authority that can extend over the whole Church's sphere of action is an Ecumenical Council." (Russian Catechism.)

Confederation, not Subjection

She believes in the Confederation of Patriarchal, National, and Independent Churches under their respective Orthodox Patriarchs, Holy Synods or such other local government as is not contrary to antiquity and Christ's teaching.

Christ Alone the Head of the Church

And here for the sake of emphasis I repeat her own words in reference to the Headship of the Christian Church:

"As the Apostle Paul writes, that for the Church as the building of God, 'other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ,' 1 Cor. iii, 10, 11, wherefore the Church, as the Body of Christ can have no other Head than Jesus Christ." The Church being to abide through all generations of time needs also an abiding Head, and such is Jesus Christ alone. Wherefore also the Apostles take no higher title than that of 'Ministers' of the Church." Col. i, 24, 25. (Russian Catechism.)

Service Book

I may now look at her Service Book. Her great treasury of devotion may be divided into three parts:

First. Short Devotional Services, known as the

Hours. These are seven in number, according to scriptural teaching "Seven times a day do I praise Thee." (Ps. cix, 164.)

Second. Her Book of Needs, viz., those special services for the performance of sacraments and rites other than those of the Holy Communion.

Third. Her Communion Service, which bears the name of "The Liturgy," meaning "Common Service."

This Liturgy is very old. It comes down to us from St. James, cousin of our Lord after the flesh, who was the first Bishop of Jerusalem. This ancient Liturgy was first reduced in form by St. Basil, Bishop of Cappadocia, and later on abbreviated still more by St. Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople. The service itself consists of practically two parts: first, the Liturgy of the Catechumens, or that part which those preparing to be baptized and penitents could attend. It included Litanies, the Epistle and Gospel and Sermon. (After this service they were expected to leave, in ancient days.) Second, the Liturgy of the Faithful, which, with Litanies, etc., embraced the saying of the Creed and the Consecration and distribution of the Body and Blood of our Dear Lord to those who were prepared to receive. The Liturgy is most beautiful, dignified, and majestic.

Prior to the saying of the Liturgy proper there is what is known as the Proskomede Service, which means the preparation of the elements brought by the faithful for the celebration of the Blessed Sacrament. The Holy Eastern Church in her Communion Service not only by words but by ceremonies and processions portrays the Sacrifice, Death, Resurrection and Ascension of our Blessed Lord. No one who has ever seen a grand Holy Orthodox Pontifical Service, i. e., one wherein a Bishop with attending Priests and Deacons serve, leaves the Church edifice without being convinced that he has seen

portrayed in a most solemn and devotional manner a little bit of heaven on earth.

Robes, etc.

We may go a step further: As we notice the robes of the clergy, ornaments of the altar and whole edifice, and the ceremonies, we may lawfully ask why all such display? What meaneth all this? Indeed, we need only go to the Bible to get our answer. God is the author of robes, ornaments and ceremonies. Our first parents adopted withering, changing leaves of fig trees (Genesis iii, 7,) for a covering. It was God who gave to Adam the woolly skin of the first Sacrificial Lamb to be a robe. (Genesis iii, 21.) No one but God could have suggested to Abel the sacrificing of a Lamb upon an Altar (Gen. iv, 21,) emblematic of "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world" Christ. (Rev. xiii, 28.) Around that one act the Prophetic Sacrifice of old — the memorial, unbloody sacrifice now — have grown up by divine suggestion and command all the elaborate, yet helpful to devotional life and reverential approach to God, robes, ornaments and ceremonies. And, oh, how wise and blessed have been all of these suggestions and commands of God! Indeed, He saw the ever-changing, and sometimes ridiculous, fashions of mankind and how inappropriate they would be to a dignified worship of the Divine Majesty. He, therefore, suggested changeless robes for His priests. The priestly "alb" of the Christian church is after the fashion of that prescribed by God Himself.

Unless, then, we are ready to ignore both the fact of the Bible being the Word of God, early history and sacred tradition being trustworthy, we must agree to certain points after reading carefully and prayerfully, viz., that:

First. Robes, ornaments, and ceremonies are ordained of God.

Second. That our Blessed Lord when He became man for our salvation, in no shape, form or manner rebuked the use of them, but by His presence and use of them, and also by His disciples' presence and use of them in the Jewish church, gave His and their sanction.

Third. That His disciples after our Blessed Lord's Ascension regularly attended for twelve years the services of the Temple and joined in all excepting the Bloody Sacrifice — the Holy Communion in their "Upper Room" or first Christian church, having taken the place of this latter. And here it must be noted that Christ must have given His Apostles very minute instructions about all these during the "Great Forty Days" which intervened His Resurrection and Ascension. We are told by St. Luke that He spoke "to them of the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God" (Acts i, 3) — the Kingdom and Church of Christ are synonymous terms.

Fourth. That when the Apostles scattered hither and thither after the martyrdom of St. Stephen the Deacon, they adopted as far as necessary and applicable to Christianity the very robes, ornaments and ceremonies of the Jewish Church of Shadow, and of which the Kingdom of God or Church of Christ was the Substance.

Fifth. When representatives of the Christian Church throughout the world met in Jerusalem under the Presidency of St. James the Apostle, and again at the first General Council of Nicea, A. D. 325, there never was one word uttered against the then existing ceremonies and robes. All was taken for granted, though men had come from the ends of the earth to Nicea. Ceremonial centainly there was, robes certainly there were, but those who came from Jerusalem, or Constantinople or Alexandria or Far-off India or Africa or Rome or

Hespenalia, or Gaul or Britain, all were agreed on the ancient usages and the expediency of them.

And so, Sixth, the Holy Eastern Church to-day with her robes, ornaments and ceremonies has no excuse to offer. Each has its meaning. One and all point us up to heavenly things and away from what is earthly and changeable..

Those who desire to follow up this subject ought to read the Books of Exodus and Leviticus and then weigh well St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, and from thence note how, as I have said, our Blessed Lord and His Apostles never in one jot or tittle deprecated those things. Remember the Birth of the Christian Church was on the Day of Pentecost, for it was then the Holy Ghost descended and filled her waiting soul with life, light, power and immortality. We must not expect Ritual Rules in the fourfold Gospel. We must, therefore, understand the meaning of St. Paul's words about the Services, "Let everything be done decently and in order," I. Cor. xiv, 40, as referring to ceremony, and when he commands St. Timothy to bring "the cloke"—"the books" and "parchments" (II Tim, iv, 13), as referring to things which he had need of in the conducting of public worship.

Surely if the Church Militant is but a stepping-stone to the Church of Paradise, as we read the first chapter of the Revelation of St. John the Divine and scan the chapters thereafter, there need no more be said on this point.

Sometimes the Orthodox Church is criticised for the use of ornaments. But here again she falls back on Scriptural teaching and example. It was God who commanded Moses to place the images of the Cherubim over the Ark of the Covenant in the Holy of holies (Ex. xxv, 18--23). She only uses the emblem of the Cross

and pictures as reminders of Redemption and the virtues and nearness of the Saints, and as helps to devotion. Her one and only highest object of adoration and worship is the Triune God. Her one and only immediate Mediator, Advocate and Intercessor with the Eternal Father is Jesus Christ (I Tim. ii, 5). The Blessed Virgin and Saints at most only help to save us by their prayers and intercession to Jesus. Christ alone is both their salvation and ours by His Redeeming Blood as the God Man.

The Church not Political

The Orthodox Church is not a political body. She draws a distinction between her mission to help all men and that domineering spirit of the West to subject all men under a human head and curia at Rome. The Orthodox Church's kingdom, like her only Head, Christ, — "is not of this world" (John xviii, 36). She proclaims "the Faith once for all delivered to the Saints." Her sons are willing to die now as through all the ages of the past rather than either add to, take from or deny that Faith, for their Mother the Church, has been intrusted with the guardianship of that Divine Treasury for the salvation of all mankind, and it is their duty to hand down from age to age the Truth as they have received the same from Christ, His Apostles and the days of the early undivided Church.

Rome is handing down to us in her imperial power — I except her spirituality, of course — the old pagan Roman system of supremacy and universality. Circumstances connected with the dismemberment of the Western Empire afforded her the temptation. If all her popes were like Gregory the Great it would not have been so. He ignored such teachings and protested against it, but the weakness of kings helped to create the strength of popes not spiritually minded, and so has

grown up, in contradistinction to ancient Rome during the first four centuries, with her long and great list of Saints, the Italian Curia, which like malice weed overclouds her great goodness in every land, and saps the spirituality out of her as a great organization. It has changed her from a portion of the Body Mystical of Christ into an ecclesiastical machine of human invention. Her Patriarchal See has become the extinguisher of the dignity and importance of an Apostolic Episcopate, and her creation of a Cardinalate a matter which neither Christ nor His Apostles ever foretold, an institution which neither Bishops, Priests, Deacons, nor Laity outside of the City of Rome had aught to say as to its necessity. It is as purely human as the Roman Papacy, and its temporal pomp and grandeur are rebuked by the Founder of the Holy Catholic church, Who "made Himself of no reputation" (Philippians ii, 7) for us; Who while the foxes had "holes and the birds of the air nests" (Matt. vii, 20) had not where to lay His Royal, Incarnate Head; Who instructed His followers, saying "Take My yoke upon you and learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest for your souls" (Matt, xi, 29); who even after His Resurrection became again the Servant to His poor tired Fisher-Disciples, having prepared for them a meal on the shores of Galilee (John xxi, 9.)

The Orthodox Church is the True Witness against Rome's false claims, as well as her temporal power and human inventions.

Men to-day are looking for the Truth as it is in Jesus. "The Holy Orthodox Catholic Apostlic Church" promulgates to the world, that being the Body Mystical of her Lord and her God, — she like Him is "the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever" (Heb. xiii, 8) in doctrine and fellowship.

XVI

PROTESTANTISM

By Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Ph.D., D.D.

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Protestantism is a complicated phenomenon. Its very name implies that it was originally a negation, a negation of or protest against the Catholic system which was arousing so many to revolt in the sixteenth century. Into the ranks of the Protestants came all sorts of men, interested in all sorts of things, bound together only by a common discontent with the old church. We cannot group Protestants under the name of a single leader as we can group Christians under the name of Christ or Confucianists under the name of Confucius or Mohammedans under the name of Mohammed. At the same time there are certain things that can be said in describing the phenomenon or group of phenomena that we know as Protestantism. The subject I think can best be approached historically.

It is common to speak of the Protestant Reformation as a modern movement, to think of it as a child of the modern age and to contrast it in this respect with Greek and Roman Catholicism. It is common to say that the modern age began in the fourteenth or fifteenth century and that Protestantism, taking its rise as it did in the sixteenth century, was a fruit of the modern spirit. But this is entirely to misunderstand Protestantism. In its inception it was not a modern movement and was not controlled by the modern spirit. A fundamental element

in mediæval Christianity, whether Greek or Roman, was the notion that man is a corrupt and depraved being, helpless to save himself and to escape from sin and evil. It was consequently thought necessary that there should be a supernatural system by which his redemption might be effected and his release from evil accomplished. It was in this light that Christianity was interpreted. The Reformation did not break with this conception. Luther was one with the mediæval theologians in his emphasis upon the corruption and helplessness of man. In fact, no one ever laid greater stress than he upon the doctrine of human depravity and bondage. And so to conceive of him as a modern man, actuated by the spirit of the modern age, is really to misunderstand him.

The spirit of the dawning modern age was confidence in the ability, worth and goodness of humanity. The new age revolted against the mediæval valuation of man and opened before him a wholly new world. There was new confidence in his powers and new emphasis upon his rights. There were new discoveries, new inventions, new opportunities in every field. All this the new age meant but upon all this Luther turned his back. It is a significant fact that though the modern men, the men who were alive to the new spirit, the Intellectuals of his day, were at first attracted by Luther, many of them soon deserted him, finding that he belonged to another world. And so I say that to call the Reformation a modern movement is to misname it.

At the same time there were features of the Reformation that must be recognized as congenial to the modern spirit, even if not themselves its fruit. They are to be traced back ultimately to the remarkable religious experience of the great Reformer.

Luther's experience in the monastery at Erfurt led him to break at two points with the existing Catholic

notion of salvation. In the first place, he was led to conceive of salvation as a free gift of God which man can do nothing to secure or to promote. He cannot earn it by works; he cannot earn it by faith; it is voluntarily bestowed by God. In the second place Luther was led to conceive of salvation as a present reality. Traditionally it has been pushed into the future. A man was supposed to be saved only when he reached heaven, and throughout this life he must labor in order to make himself worthy, or earn in one or another way the future bliss. Luther repudiated this notion completely and declared that the Christian man is saved here and now, just as much saved in this life and upon this earth as he will ever be in the aeons of eternity.

But what did Luther mean by salvation when he spoke of it thus? It is evident that he did not mean what was ordinarily meant by it. He meant simply this: that God, the Father of Jesus Christ, whose character and purposes have been revealed to us in Jesus Christ, has shown himself a gracious, loving Father, and seeing him we are released from all anxiety, from all distrust, from all discontent, from all fear of the present and dread of the future, and are made victors over this world in which we live, are given a new peace, a new confidence, a new assurance, a new aim in life and a new inspiration for its living. All this is salvation according to Luther and all this we can have now as truly as in the future.

There are various things involved in this idea of salvation, things congenial to the modern spirit even if not the fruit of it. For instance it will be seen at once that this notion of salvation gives a new value to the present life. According to the old view, this life is simply a probation or a preparation for a life to come. Whatever value it has is given by the future, in itself it is worthless. This world is a vale of tears, a miserable place full of evil, and the

one desire of the truly religious man must be to escape from it. Luther on the other hand put a new meaning into the present and gave it a worth of its own independent of the future. One's occupation in life was no longer to be judged by the way in which it prepared a man for heaven but by its usefulness here. This meant the recognition of the sacredness of callings even the most secular and the most humble, and the possibility of serving God in worldly profession, business and trade as truly as in monastery or priesthood. Upon this Luther laid the greatest emphasis and his teaching has been of tremendous social importance. For many centuries it had been supposed that the most truly religious life was that of the monk or nun who lived apart from the distractions and pleasures of the world in religious devotion and in the practice of rigorous self-discipline. To be in the midst of society, to engage in trade, to indulge in the pleasures of friendship, to marry and enjoy the delights of home, all this was legitimate, to be sure, but distinctly less honorable than the life of celibacy and seclusion. Other-worldliness was the dominant note of traditional Christian piety. Not to make a man a good citizen of this world but to prepare him for citizenship in another and altogether different world beyond the grave, where there is neither buying nor selling, eating nor drinking, marrying nor giving in marriage, and where life is a continuous and uninterrupted round of devotional exercises — to prepare him for such a world was thought to be the supreme aim of Christianity. And so the more unworldly this life could be made, the more completely detached from the ordinary interests and concerns of earth, the more Christian it seemed. Even within Protestantism this Catholic ideal has had wide influence, but it has never found so consistent and thoroughgoing an expression as in Catholicism, and Luther's message of the sacredness of this

life and the holiness of ordinary human callings and relationships has never been wholly forgotten. To this principle he gave repeated and eloquent expression both by word and deed. His writings, particularly his sermons, are full of it. The Christian is already a saved man and his life here on earth is as truly sacred as his life in heaven will be, and in it he may express as truly as there his Christian character as a son of God, not by detaching himself from employment and family and friends, and giving himself to ascetic and religious practices, but by doing the daily task faithfully and joyfully, with trust in God and with devotion to His will.

Listen for instance to such passages as the following, taken almost at random from Luther's sermons, "What you do in your house is worth as much as if you did it up in heaven for our Lord God. For what we do in our calling here on earth in accordance with His word and command he counts as if it were done in heaven for Him." "We should also learn that our outer life and position being rooted in God's word and sanctified by it, are a genuine service of God in which he is well pleased. It is not necessary that he who would serve God should undertake some special kind of a calling as the monks have done. Let him remain in his calling and do what his master or his office and position require. That is to serve God truly." "It looks like a great thing when a monk renounces everything and goes into a cloister, carries on a life of asceticism, fasts, watches, prays, etc. . . . On the other hand it looks like a small thing when a maid cooks and cleans and does other house-work. But because God's command is there, even such a small work must be praised as a service of God far surpassing the holiness and asceticism of all monks and nuns. For here there is no command of God. But there God's command is ful-

filled, that one should honor father and mother and help in the care of the home."

An important corollary of this estimate of the common life of man was the breaking down of the old distinction between the clergy and the laity. The life of the clergyman is no more sacred than that of the layman. Faith in God and devotion to His will make him as good as the faithful and believing merchant or shoemaker but no better. There is no such thing as a special priesthood or clerical class endowed with grace, not shared by others. Religion becomes a thing of the people, not merely of the priest. Upon them rest its responsibilities and to them belong its privileges as truly as to him. It was therefore no mere dictate of expediency which led Luther in his famous Address to the German Nobility to call upon them to take up the work of religious and ecclesiastical reformation. The Protestant Reformation was, indeed, in a very true sense, a lay and not a clerical movement. The clergy are only the representatives of the people and their ministers or servants in religious things. Let the people, not the hierarchy, rule.

Still further, Luther's conception of salvation involved a new religious liberty. It will be seen at once how this was the case. If there was nothing that a man could do to earn his salvation, he was freed at one stroke from a great deal that had lain upon him in the past and had bound him in the days that were gone. He was free, for instance, from the old bondage to the church. The church had been supposed to be the sole ark of salvation, in which one might escape destruction and be carried through this evil world into the bliss beyond. But if a man is saved now and here, his old dependence upon it and his old bondage to it become unnecessary. So too with his bondage to the clergy. The clergy had been regarded as the agents of salvation, alone able to dispense the divine grace

without which no man could attain the future reward. With a free and present salvation their ministrations are no longer indispensable. The same is true of one's bondage to creed and Bible. The free man is no longer obliged to accept the one or the other in order to be saved. In the same way bondage to the sacraments is overcome. A man's salvation no longer depends upon taking this or that sacrament whether it be the seven of traditional Catholicism or the two of Protestantism. He is already completely saved, already truly a child of God.

Of course, this does not mean that a man cannot use these things. Luther insisted that all of them had their place and value to the Christian. He did not repudiate the church; in it the gospel of salvation is proclaimed. He did not repudiate the clergy; they preach the word, bringing the knowledge of God as revealed in Christ which often a man cannot otherwise get. He did not repudiate creed or Bible; he framed a creed for himself, and as every one knows he made immense use of the Bible and emphasized its superlative worth as a means of grace. In the same way, according to Luther, may the sacraments be used. They too are means of grace declaring the forgiving love of God in Christ. But man is released from bondage and subjection to all these things. He is a free man because he is saved as he sees the revelation of God in Christ and gains the peace which makes him victor over the world. This is the essence of the Protestant principle of liberty as set forth by Martin Luther.

But I would have you notice that too often we stop here in our description of Protestantism. We say that it released Christians from a yoke which they found heavy and grievous, and made them new and free men in Christ Jesus. But why? What is the good of liberty, if liberty be all? We often talk of it as if it were itself a bless-

ing, whatever the use made of it. We often, in America particularly, represent it as a sufficient end in itself. As a matter of fact, that is not the way Martin Luther interpreted it. He did not think it enough for a man to be set free, he must be set free in order to do something else. And what was that something? According to Luther we are set free in order that we may serve our brethren as Christ did. "To love God and one's neighbor" he says in one of his sermons, "is the greatest and most excellent of all works even though it seem the commonest and humblest." And what he means by loving God and one's neighbor is made abundantly clear in the words — "What is it to serve God and do His will? Nothing else than to show mercy to one's neighbor. For it is our neighbor who needs our service, God in heaven needs it not." Thus Luther sums up the whole duty of man as the service of his fellows. It is most beautiful and inspiring to see how in sermon after sermon he shows what such service means and how rich and manifold a thing it is as it expresses itself in the various relationships and conditions of life, between husband and wife, parents and children, tradesman and customer, master and servant, prince and people, toward friends, strangers and enemies; on the part of rich and poor, learned and ignorant, high and low alike. He was so deeply concerned in the practical application of the principle that he even ventured in his preaching and writing into the sphere of finance and undertook to show how love may find play in the world of business as well as elsewhere. In an interesting and striking tract on Trade and Usury he remarks that buying and selling are legitimate and Christian, but he condemns the practice of buying low and selling high, and denounces corners, monopolies, and combinations in restraint of trade. Never has love of one's neighbor expressing itself in social service, been more persistently

emphasized and never has it been raised to a higher plane, being made the entire sum and substance of man's service of God.

But in order that one shall be able to serve one's neighbor it is necessary according to Luther that one shall be set free from all anxiety about oneself. No one, he says, can give himself in disinterested and self-forgetful love to the service of his neighbor so long as he is anxious and troubled about his own fate. Only when he has gained assurance of salvation through faith in Christ is he set free from the shadow of fear and enabled to devote himself unreservedly to his brother's good. So long as he feels himself unsaved he cannot do otherwise as a serious-minded and religious man than give thought and time to his own state. Whether he shall pass eternity with God or with the devil must be a question of paramount concern not to the selfish man merely but to the man of noblest religious aspirations. And so to be set free from anxiety about one's own eternal destiny is the first step toward singleness of devotion to the service of one's fellows. In his wonderful tract on Christian Liberty Luther undertakes to show that just because the Christian man is "the most free lord of all and subject to none," he is and can be "the most dutiful servant of all and subject to every one." As he says in one of his sermons, "You must have heaven and be already saved before you can do good works." And again, "When you know that you have through Christ a good and gracious God who will forgive your sins and remember them no more, and are now a child of eternal blessedness, a lord over heaven and earth with Christ, then you have nothing more to do than to go about your business and serve your neighbor."

The following passages in his tract on Christian Liberty set out his principles more clearly than anything I could

possibly say. In them I think we shall get at the essence of Protestantism taken at its best. "Who then can comprehend the riches and glory of the Christian life? It can do all things, has all things, and is in want of nothing; is lord over sin, death and hell and at the same time is the obedient and useful servant of all. But alas, it is at this day unknown throughout the world; it is neither preached nor sought after, so that we are quite ignorant about our own name, why we are and are called Christians. We are certainly called so from Christ who is not absent but dwells among us, provided, that is, we believe in him and are reciprocally and mutually one the Christ of the other, doing to our neighbor as Christ does to us."

"A Christian man needs no work, no law for his salvation, for by faith he is free from all law, and in perfect freedom does gratuitously all that he does, seeking nothing either of profit or of salvation, since by the grace of God he is already saved and rich in all things through his faith."

"Man does not live for himself alone in this mortal body, in order to work on its account, but also for all men on earth; nay he lives only for others and not for himself. For it is to this end that he brings his own body into subjection that he may be able to serve others more sincerely and more freely."

"It is the part of a Christian to take care of his own body for the very purpose that by its soundness and well-being he may be able to labor and to acquire and preserve property for the aid of those who are in want, that thus the stronger member may serve the weaker and we may be children of God, thoughtful and busy one for another, bearing one another's burdens and so fulfilling the law of Christ. Here is the truly Christian life, here is faith really working by love, when a man applies himself with

joy and love to the works of that freest servitude in which he serves others voluntarily and for naught, himself abundantly satisfied in the fulness and riches of his own faith."

This is the heart of the gospel as Luther understood it — liberty in order to service. Set free from all bondage, set free from all those things which keep a man cautious about himself and careful lest he make a mistake here or go wrong there and so imperil his future salvation, he gives himself in disinterested love to the good of others. This is essential Protestantism as preached by its greatest exponent — Martin Luther.

But when we look at those who followed him we discover that this gospel of Luther was not understood and made effective by them. Perhaps we might say that the great trouble was that Luther proclaimed the liberty only of the Christian man, the man already saved, and that he left the natural, the unsaved man under the same pall that had lain upon him for centuries, and as time went on the shadow of the natural man fell again upon the Christian too. In other words, the old traditional distrust of man came back to trouble Protestantism. The result was that Protestants were involved again in the old bondage to church, to clergy, to sacraments, to Bible and to creed. Life came again to be regarded in the same old way as a probation for a life to come. Whatever the theologians might say about it, and they have usually succeeded in one way or another in avoiding the explicit statement of it, the notion of probation has had practically as much control in Protestantism as in Catholicism. "It is the common doctrine of all religion," Bishop Butler remarks in his famous Analogy, "that this life is a probation for a life to come." The average Protestant has commonly been in the habit of setting himself to work, in spite of his belief about salvation by faith

alone, to earn the reward of a blessed immortality. If he could not do it by entering a monastery he would do it by eschewing the pleasures of the world, living a life of austerity and self-denial, avoiding this or that amusement and occupation, giving to charity, attending church regularly, receiving the sacraments, accepting the creed, believing the Bible, — in these and countless ways showing his devotion to God.

The unprejudiced historian, looking back over the history of Protestantism must recognize that to all intents and purposes there was as much bondage in the new churches from the middle of the sixteenth century on as in the old church. To be sure some things were different. Protestants did not recognize the authority of the Pope, they had only two sacraments instead of seven, they rejected transubstantiation and purgatory and the worship of Mary and the saints. But these are only minor differences. Essentially they were one, and Protestants as truly as Catholics were living again in the old world. Luther's principle of liberty failed to work out its legitimate results. The old which he retained was too strong and the new was overlaid and hidden. It is the greatest mistake in the world to suppose that our Protestant forefathers stood positively and consciously for liberty in the religious life. They stood, or at any rate most of them did, for bondage not freedom. But in the conflict of the creeds, in the conflict of Protestant with Roman Catholic, of Calvinist with Lutheran, of Puritan with Anglican, the old intolerance became ineffective and liberty had a chance to grow in spite of them. Through the war of the sects, in fact, our modern religious freedom was made a reality.

As we hurry down through subsequent generations we discover that in the eighteenth century the modern spirit which had begun to take possession of Europe in

the fifteenth century, and had been prevented from getting into control by the Reformation, again laid hold upon the world and entered for the first time into Protestant thought. The old belief in the total depravity of man, the old belief in the utter badness of this world, the old belief that this life is nothing more than a probation for a life to come, all these were widely discredited in the eighteenth century, and there came in their place a confidence in man's powers, a respect for and devotion to this world, and a new valuation of the present life.

In consequence there is to-day a new Protestantism and we must take account of it, as well as of the old in asking what Protestantism is. There is going on now in Protestant circles a reinterpretation of Christianity in the light of the modern spirit. And this reinterpretation is genuinely Protestant, for it is at one with Luther's reading of the gospel and reproduces his controlling interest. Were it otherwise, it might seem out of place to call it Protestantism, it might seem indeed that only by abandoning Protestantism as well as Catholicism could one reach a religion suited to the modern age and congenial to its spirit. But as a matter of fact, the modern reading of Christianity is at three important points a return to the original Protestant platform, — in its recognition of a present salvation, in its gospel of liberty, and in its emphasis on social service. As one looks at the Protestant world to-day one sees everywhere emphasis upon the fact that salvation is not something for the future life alone or primarily. Multitudes still believe in the future life, Protestants and Catholics alike, and perhaps as devoutly as ever, but the emphasis is changed, and instead of being told by Protestant preachers and teachers that salvation means bliss in a future state, men are told that it means the gaining of a principle, of a purpose, of a faith here and now which makes them superior to all the

ills of life and sets them free from all fear and anxiety, including the fear and anxiety which religion itself often brings as men look forward to the dreadful penalties of eternal damnation.

And moreover the liberty which Martin Luther preached has come now in these more recent decades really to be an accomplished fact. In many parts of the Protestant world men are actually, not simply theoretically, but actually finding themselves free from the old bondage to the church, to sacraments, to creed, to Scriptures. Not that they are repudiating these things, in many cases they are making large use of them, but they are no longer subject to them, and in this new liberty they are true to the Protestant spirit.

But still more than this, many Protestants are recognizing to-day that they are set free in order that they may serve. This is an age in which to a degree true of no other age, Christianity is interpreted in terms of service of one's fellows. To-day Christian liberty is coming more and more to mean not simply satisfaction with our own lot, not simply confidence in God to give us what we need and make us happy, but devotion to God's great purpose, the promotion in this world of the kingdom of God, the kingdom of love and sympathy and service among men. This is the modern Protestant interpretation of Christianity and this, I say, must be taken account of in one's estimate of Protestantism.

Protestantism has been a great many things in the past. But it began in the teaching of Martin Luther as liberty in order to service and this, after many centuries of emphasis upon other and alien matters, it is becoming again in our own day. If there be anything then distinctively and characteristically Protestant, anything that binds the latest and the earliest Protestantism together, it is just this — liberty in order to service.

XVII

REFORM JUDAISM

By Rabbi Joseph Silverman, D.D.

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There are thousands and thousands of people in the world who do not know that there are two great sects in modern Jewry. Both are important; both are absolutely necessary. Of course when I say "absolutely necessary" I speak as a Reformer. The orthodox would not grant that the "reform" is necessary at all. Our orthodox people are just like any other orthodox people; they are rigid, strict; anything that is not orthodox is not worthy of consideration. But the Reformers are just like other Reformers; they grant the necessity for orthodoxy, because if there had been no orthodoxy there would be no reform; all the recruits to reform come from orthodoxy, and therefore we regard orthodoxy as very essential to the existence of reform.

This is by way of preface. Also by way of preface I would say that I run a risk of encroaching on the space at my disposal, because I cannot treat of Reform Judaism without practically giving a survey of thirty-five hundred years of Jewish history.

Reform Judaism is not, as has so often been falsely claimed, the creation of an individual or a coterie of individuals, but is the natural result of that fundamental law of evolution that operates in nature, among nations and among individuals. All things in heaven and earth are subject to the influence of natural development, and

therefore the history of civilization is but a record of the world's constant changes and progress. Religion is not exempt from the operation of this natural law, and keeps pace, though sometimes slowly, owing to the reactionary forces at work amongst interested men, with the advances of the world in intellectual products, namely, in philosophy, science, art, music and literature. A miracle to prevent Judaism from being influenced by the law of evolution has never happened, and therefore we have great cause for rejoicing to-day that our faith has not, like some others which too long resisted the march of progress, been relegated to the limbo of defunct institutions. Judaism still lives, despite all its detractors and persecutors, despite all misundertanding and misrepresentation, because it " hitched its chariot to a star ", because it remained always in touch with the world's best thought, its latest truth, its greatest achievements in science and philosophy, with the imperative needs of progressive humanity.

Judaism began as a reform of the world's religions, for Abraham was that first bold reformer who had the courage to break the idols and to proclaim belief in the unity and spirituality of the Godhead. Moses, in accordance with the needs of a later generation, and to meet and combat the perverted notions of religion that Israel had acquired in Egypt, reformed and amplified the simple religion of the patriarchs. Mosaism, with its animal sacrifices and its Levitical cult, was the orthodoxy of Palestine until the Prophets, with a greater insight into the needs of their time and of the future of Judaism, preached a new reform, a religion divorced from the mere mechanical practice of ceremonies, and based rather upon the ethical import of our ancient faith; divorced from a purely tribal or national character, and cast into a form that would make it universally accept-

able. No one dare charge the Prophets of Israel with being perverters of Judaism, and when they looked forward to a time when Judaism would be the religion of all mankind, the light of the Gentiles, as the Bible has it, they were guided by the highest interests of Israel and of humanity, they were acting under the inspiration of Heaven.

And here I would note that when some of the modern rabbis preach, in the spirit of the Prophets, a universal Judaism, they are characterized by some as perverters of the faith!

After the Prophets there followed in rapid succession several new phases of Judaism, namely, Hellenism, the result of the contact of the Jew with Greek life, and these sects, Sadducees, Pharisees and Essenes.

I would like to digress here and say a few words about these three sects, because I am almost certain that a great many people have a perverted idea of the Sadducees, Pharisees and Essenes. I have read much written by Christian Biblical scholars, who teach a Christian world about these three sects and give it a perverted idea of them. I have heard Christian ministers hold up the Pharisees to derision and ridicule. Why so? Simply because they do not understand; they do not know who the Pharisees were; they do not know the principles that guided the Pharisees or the Sadducees or the Essenes.

In brief let me say that the Pharisees were a fine class of people, strict, honest, upright followers of the ancient faith. They were as strict in their faith as you and I are to-day. They would not brook any interference with their conscience and with their devotion to what they believed was a revelation from Heaven. The Pharisees were not hypocrites as they are commonly

described to be; they were stern, sturdy, strict believers of the faith.

The Sadducees were a little lax in their devotion to their religion, and combined with their practice a certain concession to the social and political life of the day.

The Essenes were a small sect of ascetics more rigorous than the Pharisees. But before these three sects could work out their salvation, Rome crushed the Jewish commonwealth in the year 70 of the common era, scattered the people throughout the world, and seemingly destroyed all hope of ever resuscitating the idea of a universal Judaism; and out of the ensuing chaos in the house of Israel there came forth Rabbinism, a new Judiasm, vastly different from Mosaism, Prophetism and Hellenism.

The Rabbis, after the destruction of the Palestinian kingdom, sought to create a substitute for Jewish nationality, and established a kind of national Judaism, laying great stress upon the preservation of the letter of the Scriptures, instituting ritualistic services to correspond to the animal sacrifices, which were at an end, building up ceremonies based on forced interpretations of figurative Biblical texts, and creating a traditional law embodied in the Talmud, equal in authority with the Biblical commands. Thus Judaism was centered in a strict Biblical and a rigid Rabbinical law. To add to the trials that arose in Judaism, the various nations of Europe forced the Hebrew people to live in Ghettos, where they were compelled to pass a " cribbed, cabined and confined " existence. Thus through repression from without, through segregation from within, through a strict following of the letter of the Bible and of the Talmud, the progress of Judaism was retarded for over a thousand years.

In the meantime, however, the law of evolution was

still in force. The American and the French revolutions had been successful, and a new spirit of liberty and tolerance had gone forth in the world. America and France opened their doors to the Jews, and very soon all the walls of the European Ghettos were battered down and the Jew stepped forth into the light of a civilization that was long denied him, into contact with the new sciences and philosophies of the day, the literary, the political, the social and the religious activities of modern life. At once the incongruity of the Ghetto Judaism and its bizarre peculiarities with this modern culture was apparent, and the danger was imminent of retaining the old Ghetto spirit and Ghetto Judaism intact and again losing the opportunity that the larger freedom afforded. When the new world of thought invited young Israel, the old religion held it back, and many were then on the point of repudiating the old faith altogether and of entering the new world of thought as free-lances. This is a point that many omit in their interpretation of Judaism. They fail to see that the great danger in Israel was of losing adherence to the old faith and of not finding any substitute for it. A severe struggle ensued between Rabbinical Judaism, and the new life. In this exigency the law of evolution again asserted itself. The progressive leaders of Israel caught the spirit of Judaism, and proclaimed that the spirit, the essence of the faith, can live and shall live even in a new form, that Judaism can and must be reconciled with modern life. They realized that Judaism had undergone many changes in the past since it was first proclaimed by Abraham, that it had always lived under new forms, under the forms of Mosaism, Prophetism, Hellenism, Sadduceeism, Phariseeism, Rabbinism, and that it could again be rehabilitated in accordance with the needs of the new day.

Thus Reformed Judaism was based upon the principle

of progress that has always prevailed in our faith from the very beginning, and that has justified the changes demanded by the new conditions, in the interest of the preservation of our religion. The principle of the progressive Judaism once admitted made the way clear for recasting the old doctrines into new forms. First of all the relation of Judaism to the Bible and the Talmud had to be readjusted. To Rabbinical Judaism the letter of the Bible was all-important, and the Talmud, the traditional law, which is the Rabbinical interpretation of the Bible, was made of equal authority with the Scriptures. This rigid acceptance of Biblical and Talmudic law was at once seen by the progressive leaders to be in conflict with all advance. The principle of evolution must prevail, and therefore the Bible and the Talmud must be subject to it.

Is not that thought worthy of our highest consideration, that the basic principle in the universe is the law of evolution, and that even the Bible and religion must be subject to it?

Reformers insisted that Bible and Talmud were not absolutely binding authority in Israel, but were only history and literature of Judaism's development, and were subject to constantly new interpretations. Judaism is not dependent altogether upon Bible and Talmud. If we were to-day to destroy the Bible and the Talmud we could not destroy Judaism. They did not create Judaism; Judaism created them, and Judaism was preached by Abraham, by Isaac and by Jacob, and by Moses and certainly by the Prophets, before there ever existed any Bible and before there ever existed any Talmud. And if Judaism existed before the Bible and the Talmud Judaism is independent of them; they must be interpreted in accordance with the essence of Judaism.

That is the fundamental principle of the Jewish

Reformer; Bible and Talmud cannot be absolutely binding forever for they are the works of man. And therefore Bible and Talmud must be the outgrowth of their own time, must be fallible and subject to change. The authority of a book does not lie in the whole book but only in the eternal truths that the book contains, and the Bible is only so far authoritative as it teaches eternal truth, and Reform Judaism accepts the eternal truths of the Scriptures and not the particular laws given for particular conditions. Reformers do not repudiate the Scriptures or, as has been charged, the Talmud, but accept the spirit and not wholly the letter of both. They refuse to carry further the yoke of the Torah ("Torah" is the Hebrew word for Law) and the burden of Rabbinism. Reformers decline to abdicate their own reason and subject it to the reason of men who lived in bygone days under other and adverse conditions, namely, those of the Ghetto and of persecution. Reformers realize that Abraham, Moses and the Prophets taught a Judaism in accordance with their best reason, which is only another term for revelation also in the opinion of Maimonides.

Parenthetically, I would say that we do not believe revelation to be anything supernatural. Revelation is only the harmony of man's highest reason with the Divine mind. And from that standpoint revelation is possible; from any other standpoint, according to our humble opinion, it does not exist.

We realize, too, that the rabbis who made the Talmud made it in accordance with their best judgment; but it is absurd to say that the judgment of men of a past age, that was necessarily influenced by Ghetto life, by constant fear of oppressors and by their own intellectual horizon, is to be the law for Israel of to-day, for emancipated Israel, that has entered upon the larger life of the modern

world. We have the right, and it is also our duty, to throw off the bondage of the letter of the Bible and the Talmud, and the servile worship of tradition, and to interpret the spirit of our religion in accordance with the age in which we live, the reason that we possess, the conscience that we cherish and the ideals that we harbor for the Judaism of the future.

What are these ideals of Reformed Judaism? Not the same as those of Rabbinism or modern Orthodoxy. Based on the fundamental principles of progressive Judaism and the spirit of Abrahamism, Mosaism and Prophetism, Reformers believe that the mission of Judaism is spiritual and not political; that it is inclusive and not exclusive, that t is universal and not national. *Reform Judaism is adverse to national Judaism.* When I use the word "national," I want to say, for the sake of those who are not initiated into these terms from the Jewish standpoint, that "national" as applied to Judaism means a Palestinian nationalism, and has no reference to American or English or French nationalism.

Reform Judaism is adverse to nationalism, and regards the ancient Palestinian kingdom not as the objective point of Israel but only as an incident in the progressive march away from Egypt to humanity, and looks upon the loss of Palestine not as a punishment for the sins of some of the ancient Jewish kings and the Jewish idolaters, and certainly not as punishment for the rejection of Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah; not as an everlasting calamity, but as a decree of Heaven indicating that Israel did not possess a genius for national government; that it had to lose its narrow domain because it was destined for a wider empire, that of the whole world.

Reform Judaism teaches that we do not live to-day in exile amongst the nations of the world, but by right in the lands to which Providence has directed us, and we

have as much right to live in America, in England, in France or in any country, as we ever had to live in Palestine.

Reform Judaism does not hold out to the Jew the belief in a personal Messiah who will deliver us from the nations and lead us back again to the ancient land, but teaches rather that Israel is its own Messiah and must save itself by intellectual and spiritual progress amongst the nations in which it dwells. As the Prophet told Israel in Babylon, "Seek ye the welfare of the city . . . . . for in its welfare will ye fare well," so the prophet still preaches to us in the same spirit. Because, forsooth, there is still persecution in Russia and in other parts of the world, it does not follow that Judaism must surrender its lofty ideal to become the Messiah of mankind, a teacher and preacher of a universal religion, and narrow its mission down to Jewish nationalism and an incrusted faith. No! Reformers believe in the widest distribution of Israel, in the utmost expansion of Judaism, so that it may some day become the universal religion, or so that it may, at least in our time, take the same place in the family of religions as do other universal religions.

Reformers deny the belief in a bodily resurrection. Such a belief, is interpreted to mean that when the Palestinian kingdom will again exist all the dead will resurrect and take their places therein.

In furtherance of their ideals, Reformers have distinguished in Judaism between the essentials and the non-essentials, the essentials being as follows:

First: Acceptance of the belief in the unity and spirituality of the Godhead, based upon the Biblical doctrine: "Hear, O Israel! The Lord our God, the Lord is one."

Second: Worship of God through suitable prayers and ceremonies in harmony with modern conditions,

based upon the Biblical doctrine: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul and with all thy might."

Third: Obedience to the moral law, especially the Decalogue, based upon the Biblical injunctions: "These are the laws which thou shalt keep in order that thou shalt live through them;" "thou shalt love thy fellow-man as thyself;" — "Obedience is better than Sacrifice.

Fourth: Salvation or spiritual regeneration through righteousness, based upon the Biblical phrase: "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

Fifth: The law of eternal progress, leading us ever nearer to perfection, based on the verses: "And God through Moses told the children of Israel that they should go forward." "The path of the just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

Sixth: The ultimate redemption and the unity of all mankind, based on the Biblical teaching: "Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us all? Why, then, shall we deal treacherously one against the other?"

Seventh: The mission of Israel as the world's priest-people, based upon the doctrine of the Bible: "Ye shall be a kingdom of priests and a holy people," and upon the words given to Abraham: "Through thee shall all the nations of the world be blessed."

Eighth: Belief in the Messianic era foreshadowed by the Prophets, a time when men "shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruninghooks and learn the arts of war no more."

In the spirit of these principles and ideals Reformers have revised the Jewish prayer-book, have eliminated from it every expression of a purely national character, the prayer for the rebuilding of the Palestinian kingdom, for

the coming of the Redeemer to Zion, for the restoration of the ancient temple, the prayer for the resurrection of the dead; and have retained or substituted prayers for the welfare of the country in which we live, for the redemption of mankind from evil, for the establishment of God's kingdom on earth, for immortality of the soul.

Reform Judaism has ceased to keep a day of mourning for the loss of the ancient Palestinian kingdom, because it accepts the decree of heaven, the logic of incontrovertible conditions, and looks forward with hope of success to a spiritual conquest of humanity.

Reform Judaism is not destructive, as has been often claimed. It is not a negation; it is a positive constructive religion. While it has permitted laxity in the practice of the dietary laws and the performance of certain rites, while it may have abrogated other laws and practices, it has on the whole not taken away anything from Judaism that was essential for the preservation of its essence; but has rather engrafted upon it many new forms that have redounded to the dignity of the religious worship and the permanent benefit of the faith. It has removed the head-covering from men in the synagogue, and has abolished the women's gallery, instituted family pews, prayers and sermons in the vernacular, the organ and the mixed choir, with modern music, in addition to traditional tunes. It has given us the institution of confirmation for boys and girls. It has retained the historical Sabbath and every festival that teaches an eternal truth, like the truths of freedom, revelation, repentance, reformation, thanksgiving and loyalty to one's convictions. It has instituted Friday evening and Sunday services and lectures. It has given us the modern religious school, has emphasized the ethical points of our religion more than the ceremonial, and has taught that the ceremonial is only a means to an end, a vessel to carry the spiritual truths to

the mind and the heart in plastic form, and when the vessel has become impaired it may be changed for a better one.

Reform has, above all, insisted upon the precept and practice of the doctrines of truth, love, charity, patriotism, justice, humility, as the Bible has taught. It has insisted upon teaching that God is Truth absolute, Love absolute, Justice absolute in the universe. And we find all that in essence in the Bible and the Talmud.

Reform Judaism is a positive, constructive, progressive religion. It is founded in the past. It looks to the present; it works for the future. It cannot compromise with orthodoxy because it is diametrically opposed to it in principle regarding its attitude to the Bble, to tradition, to Talmud, to nationality, to certain forms and ceremonies, as well as to its outlook for the future. But Reform Judaism does not, as has been sometimes claimed, flirt with Unitarianism, and it is not identical with Unitarianism. Unitarianism is essentially a sect of Christianity, and finds its root in the beginnings of the Christian church. Reform Judaism is distinctly Jewish in principle and in practice, and is based on the doctrines of Abraham, Moses and the Prophets, even on the spirit of tradition which it interprets to its own use as occasion demands.

Reform Judaism, we thus see, is not an artificial creation, but an outgrowth, a development of Rabbinism touched by the law of progress and the needs of modern life. It has come into being because it was a necessity for the preservation of the Jewish faith for many thousands in the house of Israel, and it has been the means, through the use of the vernacular and of modern forms, of bringing the world to a better appreciation of the truths and the grandeur of our ancient faith.

A bird can only fly if its two wings are intact, for only with both can it propel and majestically balance itself.

So, perhaps, it is providential that Judaism has two wings, Orthodoxy and Reform, so that it may properly balance itself. With one wing only, let us say, with either wing only, it might fall. Let Orthodoxy and Reform, therefore, both live and grow and develop together, working mightily. yet peacefully, to carry the ancient faith from virtue to virtue, from strength to strength. The Reform of to-day will be the Orthodoxy of to-morrow and thus ever will Progress and Change go down the ages — and the old Faith will live till the day when all men will say "The Lord is one and His name is one."

XVIII

THE RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF SOCIALISM

By Charles Prospero Fagnani, D.D.

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There is no subject around which there clusters a greater mass of "undigested obscurities" than around the subject of Socialism. The tactics of the opponents of Socialism always reminds one of the pecularities of the cuttlefish. We are acquainted with the white bone that is inserted in the bars of a canary-bird's cage, that he may whittle his bill thereon. That comes from the cuttlefish, and the cuttlefish is a peculiar denizen of the deep. His method, when closely pursued and desirous of escaping, is to squirt out from his interior an inky fluid, which quickly causes all the water for a large distance about him to become black, and in the cover of the darkness he escapes.

"Socialism" is the only word for the meaning of which people refuse to have recourse to the dictionary or to the encyclopedia. Every one seems to think himself at liberty to indulge in wild and random confusions and baseless identifications with such separate and distinct things as Communism, Anarchism, State Socialism, Utopianism, Bureaucracy, Government Ownership — by a government that the people do not own, — and so on *ad libitum* and *ad absurdum* and *ad nauseam.* No matter how often, how clearly or how painstakingly the matter is presented, the confusion and the misunderstanding persists, until one is almost tempted to think, when it ap-

pears in reputable papers, that it is not so much the result of ignorance as of malevolence and of intent to deceive.

However, we must remember that there are people who are congenitally incapable of clear thinking and of the apprehension of new ideas, so that it behooves us to be extremely charitable. I am reminded of an incident that occurred when Professor Huxley at one time was lecturing on the brain,—a most clear and beautiful lecture. He had described the cerebrum and the cerebellum and the medulla and all the contents of the cranial cavity, and made it all perfectly clear. At the end of the lecture a lady came up to him and said: "I have enjoyed what you said exceedingly, but there is one point that I would like to know about:—is the cerebellum an internal organ or an external organ?"

Now, what I am to discuss is not Socialists but Socialism,— not the religion or the irreligion of socialists, but the religious aspects of Socialism. At the outset I would like to have it known that neither the name nor the thing is un-American. The word "socialism" is an American product. It was first applied to the activities of the Utopian socialists of this country. One of the political organizations in New York, which finally developed into the Republican party, was in its earliest activities controlled by socialists, namely, the Working Men's Party in New York, in 1835,— that is, thirteen years before the "Communist Manifesto." This was its platform: "The right of man to the soil. Vote yourself a farm. Down with monopolies, especially the United States Bank. Freedom of public lands. Homesteads made inalienable. Abolition of all laws for the collection of debts. A general Bankruptcy Law. The lien of a laborer upon his work for his wages. Abolition of imprisonment for debt. Equal rights for women with men in all respects. Abolition of chattel slavery and wage slavery. Land

limitation to one hundred and sixty acres. Mails in the United States to run on the Sabbath."

But suppose Socialism had been made in Germany; what of it? Was not Protestantism made in Germany? Is it any the less American for that? Now, of course we are not sticklers for the name, and if anybody objects to the name, if the name is like a red rag to a bull, why, we will substitute another name, that is all. Any other name, I fear, however, would be as malodorous in the nostrils of those who are under the dominion of predatory ideals, but I will offer you a selection of names. You may call it "Conjunctivism; you may call it "Mutualism" or "Reciprocitarianism" or "Fraternalism" — notice that that is not Paternalism, — "Associationism," "Co-operationism," "Equalitarianism," "Neo-Christianism," "Pantocracy," and, lastly, if that is not enough, "Non-Predatory, Co-operative Individualism."

I like this last name best, "Non-Predatory, Co-operative Individualism," because at the outset it spikes the guns of the confused thinkers who say "I believe in Individualism; therefore I do not believe in Socialism." It cannot be repeated too often that Socialism is a means to an end, and that end is the complete liberation, development and glorification of every individual; this and this only is the goal of socialism.

None deny, I suppose, that Jesus deals with religion, and that Moses and the Prophets deal with religion. "I came that men might have life," Jesus said. That means religion. "Thy will be done on earth", — that is religion. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," — that is religion. By "religion" we mean in this connection the Christian religion or the Jewish religion, they are practically the same for this purpose. The religious aspects of socialism, therefore, mean the Christian aspects of socialism or the Jewish aspects of socialism, for

both Christianity and Judaism mean the brotherhood of man, the happiness of man on earth, the kingdom of God on earth, wherein righteousness and freedom and prosperity abound.

We are coming to understand that all questions that affect life and human welfare are questions of religion, that there is nothing secular for the Christian; all things are ours and all are sacred. Hence the problems of government, of politics, of industry and of economics are all religious problems. In an ideal sense the seeds of socialism were sown more than three thousand years ago, when Moses stood before Pharaoh and cried "Let my people go, that they may serve me." Jesus took up the cry when he said "I came that they might have life and have it abundantly", and the motto of the Bible, Old Testament as well as New, is "God save the people."

On the other hand, we must remember that socialism has never been tried, consequently has never been a failure anywhere. It is founded on a principle that the ancients could not accept, and that is only slowly gaining ground even in America, and that principle is the absolute and equal right that all men — yea, and women, too, — have to a share in the government of society and the enjoyment of social goods. Socialism, as we know it today, is the outcome of the profound contrast existing between the political liberties which have been granted to the ruling class and the economic slavery whose yoke they feel all the more heavily since the acquisition of those very liberties. Socialism is a ferment that has come to stay, to adapt the words of Professor James, in connection with Pragmatism. It is as futile to try to stop the march of Socialism as it would be to endeavor to prevent the forward progress of the Muir glacier by planting stakes along its front. Socialism is in the line of evolution. The entire history of the human race has

been the gradual preparation for it. We have had Slavery; we have had Feudalism; we are having Capitalism, — and we shall have Socialism.

Now consider for a moment what socialism does *not* stand for, — let us try to grope through the cuttlefish murk. In the first place, it does not stand for *state slavery,* for the government assignment of a man to a job. That belongs to Utopian socialism; it belongs to paternalism. That was Herbert Spencer's bugbear, — and it is a bugbear. We have got too much of that already, the compulsory job that the man does not want and that he would drop at once if it were not that he would starve. Men will go on hunting for jobs, just as they used to. The only difference will be that they will find jobs; they will not hunt for them in vain.

In the second place, it does not stand for the *suppression of the individual.* I have said that before and I shall say it yet again; it does not stand for the suppression of the individual, but, on the contrary, for the fullest emancipation of the individual from all the handicaps which at present crush individuality and even personality. Now, this assertion should be printed in large type on postal-cards and mailed every day for a year to all the daily newspapers, to many of our prominent citizens both lay and clerical, and to most of our professors of economics. In spite of it I have no doubt that some would still go on squirting cuttlefish-wise.

A leading paper recently said: "The harmfulness of these doctrines of socialism is that they involve an absolute change in the theory of property right that has hitherto ruled the social life of mankind." That is more cuttlefish work. It is absolutely mistaken and misleading. No change whatever in the *theory of property right* is involved. The theory of property right is that there shall be private property and public property, — private prop-

erty, mine and thine, — public property, ours. The only difference will be that many things that have been considered to belong to the sphere of mine and thine we are discovering properly belong to the sphere of "ours."

And, in the last place, socialism does not necessarily stand for *confiscation.* We have too much confiscation now. President Taft believes in confiscation. So far as I know he is not a socialist. There are the words of President Taft at his speech in Denver: "It seems to me now, as it did then, that the proper authority to reduce the size of fortunes is the state rather than the central government. Let the state pass laws of inheritance which shall require the division of great fortunes among the children of the descendants, and shall not permit a multimillionaire to leave his fortune in trust so as to keep it in a mass. Make much more drastic the rule against perpetuities which obtains at common law, and then impose a heavy and graduated inheritance tax which shall enable the state to share largely in the proceeds of such large accumulations of wealth which could hardly have been brought about save through its protection and aid."

That is confiscation, and that is advocated by President Taft. Now, socialism believes in a social order in which swollen fortunes will be impossible and therefore confiscation unnecessary.

I want to turn now from the negative side to the positive, which is much more important. I want to call attention to some of the features of the positive program of socialism, the things among many others — I have to make a selection — that socialism stands for, and I should like to consider carefully whether these things have a Christian aspect or not. First, that a *higher value be set upon human life,* one that would make a man more precious than fine gold. There was a president of a trust who, in an affable after-luncheon mood, stopped to con-

verse with George, a stableman. "Well, George, how goes it?" he said, taking a dollar cigar out of his mouth. "Fair to middling, sir; fair to middling," and he continued to currycomb the bay horse while the president smoked and looked on in good-natured silence. "Me and this here horse," George said suddenly, "has worked for your firm sixteen years." "Well, well," said the president, feeling a little guilty as he thought of George's $7 salary, "But I suppose you are both pretty highly valued, George. Eh?" "Well," said George, "the both of us took sick last week, and they got a doctor for the horse and they just docked my pay."

The value that is put upon a human life in certain parts of the country, if it is a male life, is about $150. Here was the mine explosion in Monongah, in West Virginia. We read in the papers a couple of years ago: "They are cashing in widows at $150, orphans at $75. Orphans are cheaper than widows; there are more of them. These amounts are doled out by the Company, in whose subterranean passages the horrors occurred. This pays for everything, and the Company gets receipts for it, — father, husband, tears, agony, despair. The little main street of unpainted buildings is quiet again; the women are not crying to-day; their tears have run dry. The market price of a human life in West Virginia has been fixed at $150; thoroughbred horses bring as much as $5,000."

Socialism proposes to make human life more precious. The Christian aspect of this is suggested by the text: "Is not a man of more value than a sheep (or a horse)?"

Next, Socialism proposes that there shall be *more private property for everybody,* more widespread ownership of wealth. It believes in the sacredness of private property, the right of a man to his earnings and to the whole of his earnings. The Christian aspect of that is: "All these things shall be added to you, — life abundant."

Next, that *dividing up shall cease,* that each shall keep what belongs to him and not be obliged to share it with somebody else who has no right to it; that no longer a part of the earnings, shall be appropriated and called "profits." The Christian aspect of that is: "Do unto others as ye would have others do unto you."

Socialism believes in the *preservation and the extension and the glorification of the American Home,* that the motto "God bless our flat" shall mean something that is worth while. It believes in the *sanctity of the family.* It believes that no women or children should be exiled from the home to work in the factories. It puts a *premium on conjugal love* by making it possible for all. It will do away with the necessity for suicide on the part of young men who are engaged to be married and are so hopeless of their ability to maintain a family that they take their lives in despair, as was done by a young Jew in this city a few days ago. It proposes to give parents time and opportunity to love and to nurture their children, to get acquainted with their children. It proposes to make *large families a blessing* and not a curse.

Again, Socialism proposes to reduce to the lowest terms, if not to do away with altogether, the hideous *communism in women* that disgraces our civilization to-day, by giving economic freedom to women so that they shall not have to take to the streets; to give them the protection of the ballot so that their industrial and social rights will be preserved. It aims also to make it economically easier for men to marry while they are young.

Socialism purposes the *glorification of childhood;* that all children shall have a fair chance, that they shall not come into the world handicapped; that they shall have equal and abundant opportunity for health, decency, education, joy, — no more child labor in mine or factory,

The Christian aspect of that is: "Suffer little children to come unto me."

Socialism proposes the *full development of the individual.* This is the third time I have come back to that point. The full blossoming of personality, emancipation from the crushing, hopeless, monotonous, personality-destroying drudgery; leisure for creation and recreation, and art, and amusement, and hobbies. To-day all this is impossible for the vast majority, all their waking is mortgaged to keeping body and soul together.

Socialism proposes to *abolish materialism,* the evil materialism that holds us in its serpent coils to-day, the eternal grind for the bare means of subsistence, the constant anxiety with regard to what we shall eat and what we shall drink and what we shall put on, what is to become of us when we fall sick, what is to happen to us when we reach old age, — this ceaseless worry about material needs. It will give a chance for ideals. The Christian aspect of that is: "Take no thought what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, or what ye shall put on," because all these things will be provided as a matter of course.

Socialism proposes the *abolition of wage slavery,* the dependence of men on the caprice of their fellow-men for the means of subsistence, so that men have to go around begging as a charity for the opportunity to earn a living. It will substitute manly independence and interdependence for servile subjection. Is that Christian? Horace Greeley said, in 1845, "Wherever certain human beings divide their time and thoughts mainly to obeying and serving other human beings, and this not because they choose to do so but because they must, there is slavery." The Christian aspect of that is: "Call no man 'Master.'"

Socialism proposes to do away with *involuntary poverty and unemployment.* Poverty is a distinct social disease; it has a distinctly economic cause; that cause is

monopoly and legal privilege. The time is past when we can dismiss the problem of poverty by saying "It is because they drink; it is because they are improvident; it is because they are not thrifty; it is because they are lazy; it is because they are worthless." The bread line must go. The Christian aspect of that is: "Give us this day our daily bread" — that we may be sure of it.

It will abolish the *struggle for life,* and make possible the joy of living. Struggle, in co-operation with brothers, for the conquest of nature, for the common benefit of all, will take the place of the struggle of each against the others to get hold of their earnings.

It means the *abolition of classes.* Of course certain classes will remain, the good-looking and the bad-looking, for instance — though there will be far less bad-looking people when they will all be clean and wear good clothes and be happy. There is the idle class that has got to go, the idle rich and the idle poor; there is the class that works for profit and the class that works for wages. There is only one class that will remain, and that is the class to which we shall all belong, the class that work for the service of their fellows. We have a few of them now, the doctors and the ministers and the teachers, theoretically and ideally, are not working for profit; they are not even working for wages; they are working for service, and their livelihood comes in as a by-product, as it should. The Christian aspect of that is: "I came not to be ministered unto, but to minister."

Lastly, Socialism will *do away with all forms of violence.* It will do away with war, war being caused by the race for foreign markets for the sake of profit. It will do away with riot at home, which is the result of the battle between the exploiters and the exploited. The bullet and the bayonet, the "Black Hussars," and the clubs that are "mightier than the Constitution" are

necessary bulwarks of an unbrotherly social order that is based on the principle of cutthroat competition and legal privilege. The weapons of Socialism, on the other hand, are persuasion and education, and the ballot, and the reliance on the instinctive response in the human heart to justice and fair play. The Christian aspect of that is: "Love your enemies." "Put up thy sword into its place."

Socialism means, in general, that *the individual welfare and advantage shall be a social matter* as well as an individual matter; that it shall not be "each man for himself and the devil take the hindmost." It will be each man for himself with society helping him in every possible way.

Now, these things are all distinctly and obviously and fundamentally religious.

Another closely Christian aspect of Socialism is its *optimism.* Christianity is nothing if not optimistic; it looks with confidence to a new heaven and a new earth, to a new order of society wherein dwelleth righteousness. So Socialism knows that all human evils are remediable, that they are the effects of causes; that if we remove the causes the effects will disappear. The solution for the woes of mankind in both Christianity and Socialism is brotherhood instead of selfish competition.

Socialism believes in the *divine possibilities of human character,* that man in essence is brotherly and not brutal; that this is a good world; that only human ignorance and human oppression are responsible for all the evils that afflict us.

Now, there are some things, of course, that Socialism does not undertake to do. *It does not undertake to change human nature;* and that for two reasons, — first, it can accomplish its ends with human nature as it is. Human nature is plastic and responsive to environment.

It is good and brotherly when that side is brought out; it is bad and predatory when that side is cultivated. It is for that reason that Socialism does not attack individuals, no matter how undesirable they may be. Its efforts are solely directed against the competitive system which brings out the worst traits of individuals instead of the best.

And the second reason why Socialism does not undertake to change human nature is because it does not want, neither has it time, to compete with the church in this her peculiar mission. It leaves the transformation of human character to the clergy, who are specialists in that line. All that it asks is that the clergy will get busy.

Enough has been said to show, I think, that Socialism is not opposed to religion. The only kind of religion that Socialism deprecates is the un-Christian hireling kind that apologizes for the evils and oppressions of the present order and goes out of its way to antagonize Socialism by misrepresenting it. Not only does Socialism not attack religion but, on the contrary, it is itself religious to the core, — that is, if Judaism with its Messianic ideal is religious, and if Christianity wth its kingdom of God is religious.

This is an enormous program, it may be said; but it is not so complicated as it seems, for these things are not separate and distinct evils; they are all interrelated, the conditions which produce one, produce all. Socialism is a science; it takes a scientific survey of the social organism; it proposes to deal scientifically with the causes, not at haphazard with the separate symptoms.

How is all this going to be done? Well, that is another story. We are discussing only the religious aspects of Socialism. Suffice it to say that if these things are religious they *can* be done and they *will* be done because God is, and He is pledged to these very things.

But, as a matter of fact these things are already being

done in part. We are already living socialistically to a degree. Socialism is not a brand-new something, strange and different and untried, that is to be substituted for the present order; it is already in and of the present order. The only question is: Shall we go on and be more thoroughgoing in our Socialism? For Socialism essentially is nothing more than perfected, thoroughgoing *Democracy*. Now, surely no American will deny that the United States is to a certain extent democratic already, that to a certain extent the people have a voice in their own affairs; that to a certain extent the general welfare is the ostensible end of federal, state, and municipal government. We run schools, fire departments, life-saving service, and so on, in democratic, socialistic fashion. No corporations or private individuals are exploiting these institutions for private profit. We would like to run the post-office in that same way, but there are three reasons why we cannot; the first reason is the American Express Company, and the second the United States Express Company, and the third is the Wells-Fargo Express Company.

Now, shall we go on to gas, and to electricity, to transportation of passengers and freight, to mining, to manufacturing, — in a word, shall public utilities be publicly owned and publicly managed for the profit of all the people, or privately owned for exploitation of the people, for the amassing of private fortunes? Is this prospect so frightful for the ordinary American?

What difficulties and misunderstandings vanish when we remember this one equation: Socialism equals Democracy. Of course it is not democracy in the ordinary sense of the term that is meant, as when the boy said, "Papa, what is a Democrat?" and the father said "A Democrat, sonny, is a man that loves whisky and hates niggers, and some of them kin read." That is not

the kind of democracy we are speaking of; the democracy meant is government "of the people, for the people, by the people"; government by consent of the governed, revocable at pleasure. In a democracy the people own and control the government. The standard objection to government ownership of public utilities, railroads and so on, is that it will infinitely multiply the possibilities of graft. Not if the people own the government that owns these utilities. Graft and political corruption have their root and being in the fact that corporations — private interests — own the government. People will own the government when they have the recall, the initiative, the referendum, when their public servants, from the Justice on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States to the mayor of the humblest town, can be removed by the people whenever they so desire.

I have been careful to speak only of Socialism but in closing I wish to refer briefly to Socialists. I cannot refrain from quoting the last words penned by the trembling hand of a dying Socialist a short time since:—

"I would that my every heart-beat should have been for the working class, and through them for all mankind."

Has this any of the spirit of the One who said: "I am among you as one that serveth, that worketh, that toileth;" who said: "I give my life a ransom for many"?

Listen also to the prayer of a Socialist:

"Do not let me rest complacent day or night; but put coals under my feet and thorns in my pillow while there is a slave at the wheel, a babe in the dungeon or a prostitute on the street."

Do you detect some slight flavor of Christianity in such a prayer? Is that a type of the kind of prayers that you pray?

In conclusion, then, Socialism is nothing more and nothing less than consistent Democracy, and Democracy is the organization of the brotherhood of man for the joint, co-operative pursuit of life, liberty and happiness. Judge to what degree Jesus of Nazareth, if He were an American living to-day, would be a Socialist, — a non-predatory, co-operative individualist.

XIX

SCIENCE AND THEOLOGY

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In discussing this question of science and theology it might have been better, perhaps, to have it dealt with by one who could speak directly concerning the work that is being done in science; that is, it might be treated by a physicist, a chemist or a biologist, who could speak with authority concerning the molecule, the atom, or the living cell. Or perhaps by a theologian who could say something about questions of criticism, lower and higher, who could give points concerning the texts of our sacred writings or who could say something concerning the date, the authorship, or the authenticity of those sacred works.

But, at the same time, it is possible to discuss science and religion from a more general and literary standpoint; so we shall meet, as it were, upon the same ground to discuss this problem from about the same point of view; that is to say, we are reading the papers, we are going over the magazines, we are manifesting our interest in the great study of nature which we call "science," just as we have also a living and abiding interest in those facts of spiritual life which we generally include under the head of "religion." Thus it is for us to determine, not what are the facts of science, not what are the beliefs of religion, but what shall be our attitude towards scientific research, our attitude towards religious belief.

1. I do not know whether it has occurred to you that people who represent the general public, who in another sense stand for the literary class, are not so willing to accept the testimony of science as is usually believed. I do not say that they try to put the stars out of the heavens or to pluck up the plants from the earth, but they are not willing to receive science as a form of culture. From some cursory readings I have noted down one or two opinions that have been expressed by some of our modern writers, and it will appear as I mention their names and go over their works that I am not referring to those who represent the pulpit or theology, who perhaps might be accused of narrow-mindedness, but men who are liberal, and who in a certain sense are all too liberal. Take, for example, these statements that are repeated in one way or another in the writings of the late Friedrich Nietzsche, and one who is at all familiar with the writings and knows anything about the spirit of Nietzsche will know that instead of a conservative man we have one who is most radical, and that instead of having one who represents the Christian faith we have one who is none other than an anarchist and an atheist, and yet in these rather few words he pays his respects to science:

"To say that much work is accomplished at present in science—is far from proving that science, as a whole, has a goal, a will, an ideal, a passion of a great faith. The reverse is true. Where science is not the latest manifestation of the ascetic ideal, it is a subterfuge for every kind of discontent, unbelief, mental gnaw-worm, and bad conscience. They have acted in concert—the poor in spirit and the scientists, so I have called them the hectics of the Spirit."

It is in this way that Nietzsche would cast a certain disapproving glance in the direction of science, inasmuch as it tends to belittle man, doing away with his intellectual dignity. I have now a quotation from one of the writings of Maxim Gorky:

"Science is a divine beverage, but up to the present time it has not got through fermenting, and is unfit for use, like vodka which has not been clarified from fusil oil. Science is not yet ready for man's happiness, and all that living people who use it get out of it is headaches."

And then according to the writings of James Huneker we find a sentiment like this, in one of the novels of Anatole France:

"The young men of this age are sick from the lying assurances of science."

So I say that from the purely literary standpoint it does not follow that science means anything for the spiritual culture of mankind; it does not follow that we are to accept science simply because what it says about the heavens above and the earth beneath happens to be true in point of fact.

And yet, why should we talk so much about the conflict between science and religion? If, as happened in the year 1859, a man with a tremendous intellect and a pure spirit revealed unto us some of the possibilities of plant and animal life, why was it that people regarded him with suspicion? — Why was it that the church should have looked askance upon the work of Charles Darwin? Or, going back to an earlier period, when a pious and logical mind revealed unto man the possibilities of the life above and announced it as his belief, — a very consistent belief, too, — that instead of our having a very simple and as it were rather home-made universe, with the earth as its sun, we had another universe whose sun center was the sun, — why was it that Galileo should have been persecuted for those simple and consistent remarks that he made?

There is, there has been, conflict between science and religion, and when a man reveals unto us the wealth in the starry world above or the wealth of plant and animal life

below, we say he is a bad man; but when he pours out his money to the extent of millions of dollars we are so peculiar and so perverse in our views that we say he is a good man, when as a matter of fact the church suffers a great deal more from the conflict between religion and finance than it does from the conflict between religion and science. We do not bow before the Unknown God of the Greeks, but before the Golden Calf of the Hebrews.

Now, what has been the history of science in modern times? I have already indicated that in referring to the astronomical work of Galileo; it seems that we have not only a new heaven but a new earth, and after the work of astronomy was done it became possible for men to go on and develop for us a new physics, as in the case of Isaac Newton. Then, coming still nearer the heart of matter, it became possible for men to analyze the various forms of materiality and give us a new chemistry, as was done in the eighteenth century by Joseph Priestly. And finally, when that great period of the nineteenth century dawned upon the modern mind, it became possible still more clearly to get into the secret of things, so that as science had gone from astronomy, then to physics and then to chemistry, it completed its work by the study of biology and the discovery of the living cell.

I ask you to notice, in contrast to this, the development that our Protestant religion has undergone. I speak of our Protestant religion is the narrower sense of evangelical theology, inasmuch as it is that kind of theology that has been the life of our Protestant Church. After the Reformation was a completed fact, we find that our theology was developed in England and Scotland in a sincere, although in a rather dogmatic, fashion. Then there arose the great deistic controversy, which lasted for about one century, and although the church has many things to regret from its attitude towards those persecuted

deists, and although I think likewise the people sympathizing with the deists have still other things to regret, the fact remains that there were developed certain great minds like Samuel Clarke's and Bishop Joseph Butler's.

After the passing of deism, we notice that our Protestant theology, takes on a new character, a new guise, that is, the evangelical theology that we have in America to-day. I say nothing of Germany; she was not touched by the deistic movement, except perhaps in the case of a Lessing or a Reimarus. It has had a profound theology in the nineteenth century, first under the leadership of Hegel and at a later period under the influence of the writings of Immanuel Kant. But in our country, where philosophy is not so much a matter of belief, we have, as I say, developed an evangelical theology. Now, while science has been finding itself, while science has slowly been intrenching itself in our lower schools and in our higher universities, it seems to me that theology has been growing weaker and weaker upon the intellectual side, so that if we survey the history of the evangelical theology of the last century we shall find, alas, that it does not give us a single great mind, it does not give us a single great thought; it has all the weakness of medievalism without its strength. It has that low and terrestrial conception of religion, as though a great bell-jar were raised over this human earth and as if the Cross of Christ were nothing more than a short ladder reaching between heaven and earth. In medieval times, without our astronomy, without our science in general, these things might perhaps be understood and explained, but it seems incredible that we should have had these low and superficial minds in our modern times in connection with our view of the world.

Suppose that we had to-day medieval thinkers, like Augustine and Aquinas; suppose they were upon the scene, with all the fervor of their religious belief, with all

the peculiarities of their monkish medieval minds — can we suppose that they would subscribe to that narrow and half-hearted theology that has grown up and developed in connection with the evangelical church? It is to be regretted that while science has become stronger and more consistent, religion, on the other hand, so far as its intellectual life is concerned, has become weaker and less consistent, so that the battle between religion and science is by no means an even one to-day, and it is no wonder, therefore, that the scientist has little respect for the church, no wonder that the church has or has had a great deal of fear from the strongholds of science.

2. But let us look at the question itself, apart from the peculiar condition in which we find our American theology to-day. What is science? What is religion? Without attempting anything in the way of a formal definition, we may say that science can be identified as that which has to do with the perceptible or sensuous order of things; that is to say, science deals with those forms of phenomena that we usually identify with the senses, with the eye, with the ear, with the hand. It is not true that in every case science wants to see, to handle, to hear, but at any rate the sensuous or the perceptible is the scientific ideal, and, being unwilling to trust his intellect alone, you will find that the scientist must have some fond instrument of the telescopic sort in order that with eyes of flesh he may actually see the star, in order that he shall be able to corroborate the calculations of his own mind. And, working in the other direction, he must have a microscope which shall show him what actually exists within various substances or what goes on within the forms of animal life; and while I know that there are many subjects of science which cannot be seen with the glass, much less with the naked eye, nevertheless it is always the aim of the scientist to treat the thing as though it were visible,

as though it were tangible; in other words, that it becomes necessary for him to give some exact form or graphic representation to the subject which he is treating.

Now, religion does not have to do with the perceptible order at all. We worship the unseen; so it would appear as though there could be no direct controversy between science and religion, because science has its own field, the field of time and space, the field which is filled out by the perceptible order of things; while religion dwells within the realm of the invisible, in the realm of the spiritual. But take the attitude of the scientist towards this world which he sees with his eyes and handles with his hands; the scientist accepts the universe, having no criticism to pass upon it. All he has to do is to discover the facts and to place them in their proper relations according to what he calls natural laws. But the religionist, or the man of faith, whether he be a member of the Christian church or a believer in the Christian religion, whether he come from some other land like that of Buddhism and Vedanta, finds it necessary to re-act upon the universe, which is a system he cannot for a moment accept. So you will notice that in a great religious system like Vedanta the world is rejected, being cast aside as though it were unreal, while in connection with Christianity, although the world is not repudiated in this peculiar metaphysical sense, it is negated in another way, which we might call the moralistic one. So Jesus Christ, looking out upon the universe, although as a Jew he had been taught to believe that that universe was the world of God, His Father, says to His disciples, "What does it profit you if you gain the whole visible order and lose your own individual soul?" And while we would not try to build up any sort of theology, especially a destructive theology, upon those isolated phrases or texts which may be taken from Vedanta and Christianity, we still think we can lay it down as a general

rule that the religionist, even in the lowest order, where men worship an idol or fetish like the religionist, upon the highest order of Brahmanism and Christianity, is one who thinks it necessary to reject the world, or, if not to reject the world altogether, to subject it to a very critical form of analysis, a mental attitude, and a form of mental conduct altogether different from the scientist who accepts the universe, taking it exactly as it is.

Having observed the speculative distinction between these two realms, let us turn to the practical. What has science done for mankind? Do we get anything more out of it than a headache, as Gorky said, following out that analogy of the Russian who drinks too much of the vodka, with its excess of fusil oil? But science has done a great deal for us, and every one who follows these words, whether he believes in science or not, is one who has been benefited by it. Hence the only question is, Wherein have we been benefited, and to what extent have our desires been met by the culture of the phenomenal world?

Take it in the case of medicine; we can say that science has helped us a great deal here, because by the study of physiology, and by means of a physiological chemistry, it has done wonders in the alleviation of human suffering, in the prevention of disease, in the general lightening of our misery, making this finite life of ours more or less tolerable. I think we shall all admit that science has done for us something of great good, the only question being wherein that good actually consists.

One might draw a circle around all the benefits of science and say they are to be included under the general head of "Utility," — science has done something of a beneficial nature. But that is not sufficient for the spirit of man; he has greater needs than the needs of the flesh; he has a hunger and a thirst which cannot be satisfied by any ordinary form of food or drink and he has a disease,

a spiritual disease, a certain sickness, a homesickness for spiritual life which science cannot in any wise deny. Now, if one says, "That is sentiment," that may very well be, but it is upon the basis of that very sentiment that mankind has been nurtured and educated from the beginning of all time. Man has these deep spiritual needs which science cannot in any wise satisfy.

And so when we come here and say that science points out to us a great truth, we observe at the same time it is not the kind of spiritual truth in which we would fain believe; and when we say, as we must, that science has in a certain sense been our good angel in modern times, we have to observe that there are other good angels and better ones whose aid we need; so that while science is true, while science is of value, there are other truths, there are other values, and these must be established, these must be furnished by some other form of human culture, and religion seems to be the one which is best adapted for fulfilling that particular service.

3. Now, with this general distinction between religion and science, according to which science deals with the immediate order, and the immediate need, while religion has to do with a remote and invisible order, a remote and scarcely appreciated need, we ask ourselves, "How is it that there should have been any conflict between the two?" It seems to have been due to the fact that the religionist has not been able to consider spiritual life without running into a peculiar form of supernaturalism.

In the case of Christianity, we observe that in connection with our sacred writings, we have the outpourings of the Semitic mind. And we know that the Semitic mind, with all its excellences, with all its possibilities, has developed almost wholly the practical side of our human existence. The Hebrews were the great people for conduct, so that when we want to get any ideals of human life,

when we want to get hold of any principles of human law, we are apt to turn to the writings of Moses or to the words of Jesus Christ. The intellectual side of things was developed by another people, namely, the Aryans, from whom we have inherited our ideals of logic, science, art and philosophy. So we may regard the Hebrew Bible as that which contributes to the practical or the pragmatic side of human life, — important, of course, — indeed absolutely indispensable; while we must admit that, on the other hand, the Indo-Germanic peoples have given us their ideals of physics and dialectics.

Notice another thing, that when the miracles were being recorded in the Old Testament here and there in connection with the lives of the Prophets, and then in the New Testament in connection with the life and the career of Jesus Christ, they were times in which men had no scientific ideals. Science is a modern thing which we cannot date back even as far as the Middle Ages; so that not only with the Jews and those who had come under the sway of Judaism, but also with Greeks, with pagans in general, the scientific ideals had not been developed. So this peculiar scientific warning that we be on our guard, that we be very careful to get the facts exactly as they are, that, further, we put them in their proper relation, — all these were scruples which could have no place in the minds of those men who wrote the life of Christ. The writers of the New Testament did not have the scientific standard, and so if they did not put things in a way that we would like to see them put to-day, we are to see that it is not altogether their fault, but that it is our fate, because these brains of ours are so limited and the life of man is so short that not everything can be learned at once; so that in the gradual development of things one must first have one's religious principles cultivated and then, later, one's scientific ones. While these religious people held

the field they felt perfectly free to say things just about as they occurred to them; and so we have a great many very general statements of things which were said to have been done by one Jesus of Nazareth in the course of his religious career while he was carrying on a great religious work.

If Matthew, Mark, Luke and John had had the modern scientific education I can believe that they would have told those very same things in a somewhat different fashion. They would have been on their guard against looseness of statement, against attributing causes where causes were not to be found; they would have used the language in a manner far more critical. But unfortunately — or fortunately — the men did not have the scientific education to which we have referred, and so under the influence of an exalted personality, being persuaded that He had come forth from God, they said certain extraordinary things about His power, so that it seems as though He could with a word have fed five thousand with enough food for only half a dozen, and by the mere touch at the hem of His garment one might be made whole, or by a mere word He could turn water into wine. If they erred it was not in the spirit, but in the letter.

Those who do not believe in miracles will say that the great trouble with the miracle is this: that it never takes place. But let us make this qualification, as I have already given it: we have here the work of the Semitic mind, and the Semitic mind at this time was not scientific; we have here a book that was written in an age which was not an age of science, so that it cannot, in the exigencies of the case, be at all exact, and if one feels that we must give up these miracles in the supernatural way that they are recorded, it may be possible for us to see that there is in them certain religious truth, and that is the truth of a spiritual life which is over all things, shedding its light

upon them in the same manner that the sun shines upon the earth; and while we may not be able to see just how spiritual life in the general sense of the term is able to work wonders we can still hold fast to the general truth of miracles, which is the truth of this indwelling and all-pervading spiritual life.

If this does not satisfy us altogether, I would still call attention to another fact, in connection with this matter of science and religion in the realm of the miracle, that a great many theologians and those of a conservative and orthodox nature are not at all convinced of the value of the miracle, even where they may believe in its truth, because our faith is a faith which is not supported by anything of such an extraordinary nature; it is a faith which has grounds and reasons of its own; and while a miracle may have been a convincing sign to a man who beheld the transaction, I do not see how it could convince us to-day, so many thousand miles and so many thousand years away from the scene and the time where the thing is supposed to have taken place.

So let us admit that here science has taught us a great lesson. It has taught us to be honest intellectually. It has cleansed the mind of all sorts of intellectual strictures; it has shown us how to get at the facts in the case and how to put them in the proper relation, and although the lesson has been a severe one, — and we have shrunk from this acid test which has been applied to the metal of our religion, — while we have twinged under the knife and scissors of the surgeon, we feel that in a certain sense we are whole; and to those of us who are still languishing upon the bed with a half-hearted and halfway belief, I say: "Arise, for your light is come," and that light, so far as its rays penetrate the heart of man, is the light of science, as it is also the light of spiritual life.

The human mind needs the teaching of science because

the mind has a peculiar habit; it is a mind which, apparently, is wholly given up to the truth; but the truth, like a great many other things, is not always to be had for the asking, and where the mind of man cannot discover the truth in any particular instance, such as the cause of something which has taken place, or a fact which is desired at a particular time, it is persuaded by a peculiar tendency to invent these, inasmuch as it cannot supply its demand in any other way.

Now, we say "Thank Heaven that we live in the twentieth century, because we have broken away from the mysteries of the Orientals and the superstitions of medieval peoples. We are free; we are modern; we are rejoicing in the light of the intellect." And yet I will venture to say that every one has in his mind a rich array of superstitions, of illusions, of untrue beliefs, of which he is not at all ready to be cleansed, clinging to them with a tenacity which it is difficult for him himself to understand. We love the truth, and at the same time we love things that are not so true. We hold fast to tradition; we hold fast to custom. We believe things that have been taught us, things that we have heard, things that we have imagined, and even though we are absolutely convinced that they are false, we still hold fast to them simply because we do.

I suppose the psychologist would try to explain this by saying that the life of man, the life of his intellect, just as well as the life of his body, is guided by the will rather than by the understanding. And while there is in us a very valuable faculty that we call the "will-to-believe," at the same time that faculty can become so perverse that it will be "the-will-to-make-believe." As moderns we suffer from this in the same way that men suffered from it in medieval and in ancient times, although in a different degree, and with a brighter prospect of having the astig-

matism corrected because we understand its cause much better. So do not let us be unfriendly towards science or suspicious of its purpose — the scientist has a great many of these illusions himself, — but let us welcome anything that will put our mind in the proper attitude, that will correct our vision, that will give us a clear outlook upon the world. Now and then we have to dispense with some things which have been fond and favored ideals to us in the past. Let them go, because there are a great many others just as acceptable to take their places. Why, the Apostle Paul knew that he had them. He said: "When I was a child I thought, I spake, I understood as a child. I am a man now, and I have to put away childish things." And yet we know that with people in general, their minds are possessed of the most childish ideas concerning God, the world and the soul. They learned these in the Sunday-school, which is the place to learn them, and while they have grown in other ways, professionally, socially, in the business world, they have not grown on the theological side, so that they have the same naïve and immature view of things. We find this adolescent theology in Napoleon and Gladstone.

4. On the speculative side, where the problem was one of knowledge, traditional theology has had much to learn from science. But on the practical side, where general faith is found, science has submitted to religion. Science has made an appeal to the eye and the mind, but not to the heart and the will; as a result, it has left the ethical situation undisturbed. Its conservatism is so marked that one is almost tempted to smile at its general intellectual pretensions just as one can understand the impatience of Nietzsche, Gorky, and Anatole France, who long for a new social situation. The great thinkers, the "dangerous thinkers," in science are strangely docile in ethical mat-

ters, and verily the lions are found eating straw like the ox. Helmholtz, Darwin, Haeckel, Tyndall, Huxley, and Draper have looked boldly upon the world, but have not cast such intrepid glances within their own souls. Their *rationale* was revolutionary; their *morale* had nothing original about it. In contrast to them we find that our modern poets have been more radical so that they, not the physicists, are the men who will bear watching. Turgenev in Russia, Strindberg in Sweden, Ibsen in Norway, Sudermann in Germany, Anatole France in Paris, Bernard Shaw in England, — these are the men who threaten us with moral nihilism, while they show that the real, spiritual conflict is not between religion and science, but between religion and aesthetics.

Science is now resting from its labors and our century presents the battle-ground of a new and more important conflict, that of ethical ideals and social standards. Like religion, science has been willing to bear the yoke of duty and to tread in the path of benevolence, so that in an age which now repudiates obligation and asserts egoism, science seems quite old-fashioned. We have nothing to fear from the man with the microscope, for it is the emancipated artist who has "arrived" and we must look to our ideals. At the same time, the twentieth century must show its readiness to advance on the ethical side as did the nineteenth century on the scientific one. We have a work to do and in our new field we may hope for little from physical science.

Now, this truth, which I think cannot be denied, is a truth which will count in either one direction or the other, if it should turn out, as I think it will upon mature examination, that science is morally conservative, has done nothing for the emancipation of mankind beyond the ethical side, that proves that science is not as strong as it imagines itself to be; or it proves that the Bible has

triumphed because the Bible is an ethical work, and it stakes its reputation upon the moral, upon the ideal of a righteousness; and while science seems to have won the first victory, the preliminary charge and the early skirmish, nevertheless religion has triumphed inasmuch as it has impressed upon the mind of the scientist himself the old moral ideal which it has laid down here.

5. In summing up the results of our discussion we see how different have been the careers of science and religion, how different are their respective fields. The conflict that arose was due to a heedless supernaturalism which invaded nature without noticing the tendency on the part of the mind to delude itself. But science has been found to hesitate when contrasted with ethics and ethical problems. From all of this, certain general conclusions may be elaborated. They may be expressed as certain persistent beliefs.

The first is that truth is divine, and we can find this idea in Plato or St. John, in Augustine or Hegel. Science can never take away from it, nor can religion add to it. In its beauty it is self-existent.

My second belief is that humanity is one, and so thoroughly one that we shall not say "I am a scientist" or "I am a religionist." For the scientist has a soul, while the religionist lives in the world, and where one must fulfill the demands of his spiritual vocation, the other must look into the affairs of nature to see what bearing they have upon his life. One cannot divide humanity, inasmuch as all men have the same needs and are confronted by the same facts.

With the unity of the spiritual order and the oneness of mankind before us, we may now observe the great mystery brooding over us all. No wonder that men believe religiously, no wonder that they doubt scientifically. The totality of the world overshadows us so thoroughly that

we can only give humble assent to the presence of something greater than ourselves.

Finally, humanity has a fundamental need so that heart and flesh cry out for the living God. And as science can never dismiss the great mystery, so it can never satisfy this desire. Hence, while we welcome science, as we have long since welcomed religion, we say with Emerson:

"What is the universal sense of want and ignorance but the fine innuendo by which the soul makes its enormous claim."

XX

THE SYMPHONY OF RELIGIONS

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Four great discoveries of the modern world have compelled the reconstruction of many an old-time belief.

First in the order of time was the discovery of Copernicus, in 1543, which shattered the "crystal spheres" of Ptolemy and instituted what is known as the heliocentric theory of the universe, entirely disposing of the old-time notion that the world is a three-story structure and that the earth is the center of the solar system. The immediate effect of that discovery was to change, in certain important particulars, the idea of God as it had been entertained in earlier centuries. And we all recall how, in his well-known monograph,[1] the late John Fiske has elucidated this important result of the discovery of Copernicus.

Next in the order of time came the discovery of the Sacred Books of the East, which directly affected certain ideas that had been entertained about the Bible, and also about the particular place that Christianity holds among the world's great religions.

Then, in 1841, Sir Charles Lyell went to Niagara Falls and there made his world-renowned discovery which immediately affected our conception of the antiquity of the earth and, more especially, the story of creation as it is recorded in the book of Genesis.

And then, in 1859, Charles Darwin published his mem-

[1] "The Idea of God," sequel to "The Destiny of Man."

orable discovery about the origin and nature of man, which, as you will admit, has had a very direct effect upon certain religious beliefs that are closely identified with it.

But our concern is with the second of these four great discoveries. When the sacred scriptures of Arabia, Persia, India and China were discovered, there began to be a very decided change in the attitude of Christian and non-Christian faiths toward each other; a mighty increase in tolerance, in charity, in forbearance, in sympathetic appreciation occurred and it has continued from that time on. It was, indeed, as though some long-lost musical score had been suddenly discovered, which score, when played by the orchestra of reverent and searching scholarship, proved to be a veritable "symphony of religions," lifting the whole world-audience into the joyous and serene atmosphere of a great spiritual fellowship.

In 711, when the Moors crossed over from northern Africa into Spain, they brought with them a certain book which the Spaniards said was called "The Word of God," and for which these Moslems made the most astounding claim, namely, that if every single copy of this Book were to be destroyed it would make no difference because there is an everlasting Copy of it by the throne of the Most High "Allah," and it can be reproduced at any time! This "word of God," as it was called, proved to be the Koran, or the sacred book of the Mohammedans.

About the middle of the fourteenth century certain travelers from central Europe found their way into a rich and thickly populated country in the far East which they called Cathay. Returning to central Europe, — they had meanwhile learned to pronounce the name of this country "China," — they reported upon the remarkable discoveries which they had made there, more especially in the literature of this people. They told of the remarkable

books they had there discovered, books that were rich in ethical content, and which on closer observation it was found were none other than the sacred books of the Confucians, some of which had been edited by Confucius, while others were the work of his own hand. These books, just like the Koran, were subsequently translated into many of the languages of Europe.

In 1754 Anquetil du Perron, browsing in the royal library of Paris, suddenly came upon some rather dusty fragments of an old manuscript written in a dialect of the Sanskrit, and these proved to be a portion of the "Avesta," or sacred book of the Zoroastrians. Wishing to know more of this literature and of these people, he went to Bombay, for in Bombay, for over a thousand years, there had existed a colony of these Zoroastrians. Anquetil spent three years among these people, learning their language, and while in the process of learning it he came upon one hundred and eighty-two manuscripts similar to the one that he had discovered in the Paris library. Those 182 manuscripts, plus the discovery made in Paris, constitute all that we have to-day of the sacred books of the Parsees or Zoroastrians.

Then in 1787, when the British took possession of India, that great commercial enterprise led to the discovery of the oldest part of what is probably the oldest bible in the world, the "Rig-Veda," consisting of some 1020 hymns in praise of the forces of Nature, personified as deities. Add to that "Rig-Veda" the other three Vedas that were subsequently discovered, and to these, the "Aranyakas," or Forest Meditations; — to these, again, the "Upanishads" and the two great epics of the "Mahabbarata" and the "Ramayana," and you have a grand total of sacred Hindu literature that is over four times the size of the Christian sacred literature, the "Holy Bible."

A little later on other Indian sacred books were discovered, which proved to be the sacred literature of the Buddhists, namely, the "Pitakas," and these being regarded as sacred their very letters, as having a sanctity of their own attached to them, were counted, just as the letters of the New Testament were counted in the days when men thought that its letters were inspired. When we count the total letters in the Pitakas and the total letters in the New Testament we find that there are eight times as many in the Buddhist Bible as there are in the New Testament.

Now, from these discoveries of the sacred literatures of the Orient two great effects have followed, — the first immediate and direct, the other indirect and remote. First, then, the direct and immediate effect was the creation of a new science, which has been rather clumsily called "The Science of Comparative Religion," — sometimes, again, "The Science of Comparative Theology," a science which proceeds by the regular, orderly method of observation, verification, classification, and which has resulted in producing a succession of most surprising and significant results.

1. This science showed, in the first place, that all such *moral* sentiments as justice, temperance, truthfulness, patience, love, mercy, — far from being the peculiar property of any one religion, were found, inculcated in the Bibles of all religions.

2. So, again, it was found that *spiritual* sentiments, such as awe, reverence, wonder, aspiration, worship, — these too, far from being peculiar to any one religion, found expression in all the various systems of faith.

3. Moreover it was discovered, as a result of this science, that differences in climate, differences in environment, differences in racial origin, produced various expressions of one and the same spiritual sentiment; so

that, for instance, whether it be the Papuan, or the Aztec, or the New Zealander, squatting in dumb meditation before his feathered god or shapeless block; or whether it be the Mohammedan, prostrate in front of his mosque; or whether it be the Christian, kneeling in petitional prayer to his Father in heaven; or whether it be the cosmic theist, seeking to come into at-one-ment with the Infinite and Eternal whence all things did proceed, — it is one and the same expression of yearning and hungering for a purer, nobler, diviner life than they had thus far known.

4. Then this science made the further discovery that the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament are more or less and in slightly varying forms to be found in these other sacred scriptures. Nay, more, — it was found that we ought to add four more to the ten that are in the Old Testament to make the collection completer, for it was seen that in the Mohammedan Bible there is a commandment about cleanliness, and a commandment about kindness to animals, that ought to find a place in any group of commandments for the conduct of daily life. And then it was observed that in the Hindu Bible there is a commandment about intellectual honesty, — one of the crying needs of our time, a virtue that is perhaps more in demand to-day, in the religious world, than any other. In the Confucian scriptures too the duty of utter white-mindedness, or religious sincerity was found commanded.

In the Buddhist Bible, the fifth commandment reads: "Thou shalt drink no intoxicating liquor," and it was promptly felt by advocates of prohibition that this too ought to have a place in any complete compendium of moral commands.

5. Again, it was found that the Golden Rule did not originate with Jesus, nor even with Confucius, but antedated even him by centuries.

6. As a further result of this scince it was found that

the old notion that a particular passage in the New Testament could not be matched in one or another of the non-Christian Bibles was a mistake. When some bumptious individual at a great meeting in Boston declared that certain passages which he quoted, could not be paralleled anywhere else outside of the New Testament, Ralph Waldo Emerson who happened to be in the audience arose and with that sublime, serene, ethereal, dignified way that was always so characteristic of his utterances, said, "The gentleman's remark only proves how narrowly he has read."

7. And then, again, it was found that the old classification of religions, according to which Christianity is put by itself in one class as the one, true, divine religion, and all the other religions over there in another class, labeled "pagan," or "false," religions, — that old classification had to be abandoned in the light of the revelations of this great science of comparative religion.

8. Yet, once more, — it has been discovered that many a popular book on comparative religion has been made obsolete, or unreliable and unsatisfying by reason of the revelations of this science.

And here I am reminded of that old fable of Aesop, with which all are doubtless familiar, the fable of the Forester and the Lion, who were one day walking through the woods and discussing the question "Which is the stronger, a lion or a man?" They found it quite impossible to solve the problem till accidentally they came upon a piece of statuary representing a man in the act of throwing down a lion. "There," said the woodsman, "You see the man is the stronger." "Ah yes!" said the lion, "but their positions would have been reversed if a lion had been the sculptor."

We see the application of the fable, — too many prejudiced Christians have been the sculptors of the non-

Christian faiths. Perhaps as the best illustration of this we may take the most popular of all the books that have been written on the world's great religions; I mean "The Ten Great Religions," by James Freeman Clarke, of sainted memory. I shrink somewhat from making any allusion to his popular work, for I remember that James Martineau, who was perhaps the greatest theologian of England in the nineteenth century, said to me, when I was visiting him at his summer home in Scotland, "James Freeman Clarke is the New Englander I venerate most since Channing." So it is with all due respect for the great name of James Freeman Clarke that I criticise his book, remembering that it was published many years ago, long before the mighty strides that the science of comparative religion has since then taken. The unique design on the cover of the book shows forth the prejudice and bias with which he approached the subject and which disqualifies him to sit as a juror when passing judgment upon the worth of the world's great religions. Partiality, we know, is just as fatal to equity as is prejudice, and every disciple is partial to his master.

Or, again, we might take those monographs that have been published by the British "Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge." Many of those volumes have to be put in the same class, because they show a very distinct bias and prejudice on the part of the writer, which renders his work on the foreign religion distinctly unsatisfactory, marring what is otherwise an exellent serviceable book.

Permit me briefly to illustrate some of the eight results of this science, especially those shown to us in comparing quotations from the sacred books of the East. Already we have forty-nine volumes translated into English constituting a body of first-hand oriental literary material that English-speaking students may use in their

study of the world's great religions. I am sure all will appreciate what is meant by the "symphony of religions" when I select for an example the moral sentiment of catholicity, of appreciation, as it has found expression in the Bibles of the seven great religions of the world.

First, in the Hindu Bible we read: "Altar flowers are of many species, but all worship is one. Systems of faith differ, but God is One. The object of all religions is alike; all seek the object of their love, and all the world is love's dwelling place."

And here is the corresponding passage from the Buddhist bible: "The root of religion is to reverence one's own faith and never to revile the faith of others. My doctrine makes no distinction between high and low, rich and poor. It is like the sky; it has room for all, and like water it washes all alike."

And this noble sentence is the equivalent from the Zoroastrian bible: "Have the religions of mankind no common ground? Is there not everywhere the same enrapturing beauty? Broad indeed is the carpet which God has spread, and many are the colors which He has given it. Whatever road I take joins the highway that leads to Thee."

And this is the corresponding sentiment from the Chinese bible: "Religions are many and different, but reason is one. Humanity is the heart of man, and justice is the path of man. The broad-minded see the truth in different religions; the narrow-minded see only the differences."

And in the Jewish scriptures we read: "Wisdom in all ages entering into holy souls maketh them friends of God and Prophets. Behold how good and pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity."

And finally, in the Christian scriptures we read: "Are

we not all children of one Father? Hath not one God created us?"

Or, again, let us take a spiritual sentiment, and see how it has found expression in these various bibles. Take, for example, the religious sentiment of hope that man's life does not end with his earthly existence, that in some form there is an immortality awaiting every child of man. In the Hindu bible is the command: "Go, give to the plants and to the waters thy body which belongs to them; but there is an immortal portion of thee, transport it to the world of the holy."

And in the Zoroastrian: "At the last day questions will be asked only as to what you have done, not from whom you are descended. I fear not death; I fear only not having lived well enough."

And in the Buddhist: "The soul is myself; the body is only my dwellingplace."

And in the Chinese: "Man never dies. It is because men see only their bodies that they hate death."

In the Mohammedan scripture we have this passage: "Mortals ask 'What property has a man left behind him?' but angels ask 'What good deeds has he sent on before him?'"

And in the Jewish scriptures we read: "The memorial of virtue is immortal. When it is present men take example of it, and when it is gone they desire it."

In the Christian scriptures we have the familiar passage: "Though our outward man perish, yet is our inward man day by day renewed."

We have here seven different expressions from the seven bibles of the seven great extant religions on the moral sentiment of catholicity and on the religious sentiment of hope in immortality.

But much more interesting to us, I am sure, will be the

seven different versions, from these same seven bibles, of the Golden Rule.

The Hindu form is as follows: "The true rule is to guard and do by the things of others as they do by their own."

The Buddhist: "One should seek for others the happiness one desires for oneself."

The Zoroastrian: "Do as you would be done by."

The Chinese: "What you do not wish done to yourself, do not unto others."

The Mohammedan: "Let none of you treat your brother in a way he himself would dislike to be treated."

The Jewish: "Whatever you do not wish your neighbor to do to you, do not unto him."

And the Christian: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them."

We see, then, it is only a difference of terminology, only a difference of form; the sentiment of the Golden Rule is one and the same throughout.

If we listen to a Hindu chant, we shall think we have lighted upon some missing psalm of the Old Testament, so alike are they in spiritual content. Hear the Parsee, as he offers his prayer for purity, and how slight a change in the language of that prayer should we have to make in order that it should suit our spiritual need. We may not believe in "Nirvana" or in "reincarnation," but we all must walk "the noble, eight-fold path" of Gautama, the Buddha, if complete character is to be ours. Open the "Koran" of the Mohammedans, the "Analects" of the Confucians, the "Kings" of the Chinese, before Confucius, and in each case we shall find ourselves face to face with the credentials of a religion that speaks to us in accents strong, beautiful and sometimes even sublime.

But we must pass now to the second of the great effects that followed from the discovery and translation of these

great oriental sacred books. The second effect, following directly from this science of comparative religion and indirectly from the discovery and translation of the sacred books of the East. I refer to that mammoth convention, held in the City of Chicago in 1893, — the "World's Parliament of Religions." It is perfectly safe to say that we should still be waiting for such a parliament had not the science of Comparative Religion been already born and developed, had not those sacred books of the far East been discovered and translated. Here, in this great convention, was something bigger than the Ferris Wheel, brighter than the electrical display. Yes, even that splendid panorama of architecture that greeted our eyes as we stood on the Court of Honor, — even that superb panorama paled before the procession of the world's great faiths. At the head of that procession walked a Swedenborgian layman, Mr. Charles C. Bonney, arm in arm with scarlet-robed Cardinal Gibbons, the highest dignitary of the Roman Catholic church in the United States. And behind them walked Greek and Jew, Confucian and Christian, Mohammedan and Parsee, Baptist missionary and Hindu monk, — one hundred and twenty-eight pairs, — all marching in one grand, triumphal procession of brotherhood. Would that some painter had been present to put on canvas that memorable scene, symbolic as it was of the death-knell of sectarian exclusiveness, prophetic as it was of the coming peace among the conflicting faiths of mankind. That Parliament was conceived and planned by a Presbyterian minister in Chicago, Rev. J. Henry Barrows. The closing address was by a Swedenborgian, the final prayer by a Jewish Rabbi and the benediction by a Roman Catholic Bishop.

In that parliament there was only one discordant note, and we must deplore the fact that it should have come from a Christian source. The Rev. Joseph Cook, of

"Boston Monday Lectureship" fame, took occasion to cast aspersion upon those who did not regard Jesus the Christ as the Savior of mankind.

Of the one hundred and thirty-nine sects into which Christianity is divided, practically all the larger bodies were represented at the Congress with one single exception — the Episcopalian. Officially they were not represented, but many Episcopalian ministers took occasion on their own account to be present, among them Dr. Heber Newton of New York and Dr. Alfred Momerie of London.

The American church followed the lead of the English church. In declining to participate, the Archbishop of Canterbury took the ground that he could not regard the non-Christian religions as on a level of equality with Christianity. Consequently, he had no alternative but to decline, and we must all agree that from the standpoint of the Archbishop, he was correct; for when Christianity consented to have representatives sitting in the Parliament on terms of equality with every other religion, then, consciously or unconsciously, it gave up the claim of being the only true and divine religion in the world.

The effect of the Parliament upon the Christians and the non-Christians was singularly striking and profound. To the non-Christians it meant this, — a better and completer conception of Christianity. Remember that Christianity had come to these orientals in battleships and at the point of the bayonet. Christianity had come to them, it is true, with the missionary and the Bible; but it had also come to them with opium and the rum bottle. Here at this parliament those foreign delegates had a chance to see the finest products of our Western civilization; they had an opportunity to hear the foremost representatives of the Christian religion. The consequence was that they went back to their oriental homes with corrected notions of Christianity and of its representatives.

The effect of the parliament on the Christian delegates was no less important and striking. One must have observed that they altered the pharisaic tone and the spiritual conceit with which they had said "We thank Thee, O Lord, that we are not as these pagan idolators." They found exemplars of spirituality among these delegates of which they had never dreamed. They heard prayers to "the Father in heaven" of which they thought these orientals incapable. Their eyes were opened to the fact that only one-third of the total humanity of the earth is Christian. Their eyes were opened to the fact that Christianity is the youngest of all these religions, with the single exception of Mohammedanism. They found that in all these various delegates there was the expression of religion, and of ethics; there was expression of worship, there was manifestation of spirituality. And so they irresistibly recalled that noble sentence, toward the end of the New Testament "Are we not all children of one Father? Hath not one God created us?"

Another important result must be added. After that parliament it was no longer possible for missionaries to go to those oriental peoples with the notion that they were forever lost unless they happened to accept a particular system of theology. Some of us may have noticed that in the spring of the very year in which that parliament was held, the American Board of Foreign Missions was holding its convention in Boston, and one of the questions of that convention was "Shall missionaries be allowed to go to Japan, to China, to Ceylon and other oriental points unless they are prepared to teach the doctrines of hell and the fall?" Since the parliament of religions that question has never been raised again, and we are safe in believing that it never will be.

There are only seven great religions existing in the world to-day. The Assyrian and Babylonian religions

have long since passed, not, however, without contributing very important elements to Judaism, and through Judaism, to Christianity. The religion of Egypt passed away with the civilization that it represented. The religion of Greece gave way to the religion of Rome, and the religion of Rome gave place to Christianity, — the latter promptly borrowing and adapting certain interesting religious rites from those pagan religions, rites that have remained in our Christmas and our Easter festivals.

The great German dramatist, Herder, once compared the religions of mankind to the strings of a harp, each one of which gives forth a note of its own, and the harmonious blending of the individual notes producing a symphonic result. I am indebted to Herder for that figure, in giving a title to this address, "The Symphony of Religions," for each one of the seven great religions that exists in the world to-day has its particular note, and the harmonious blending of the notes gives us a genuine symphony of religions. Listen to each one of the notes that each of these seven religions sounds!

From Hinduism we have the note of "spirit" absolutely abrogating the idea that there is any such thing as "dead" matter or "brute" matter or "inert" matter, for the whole world of matter is thrilling, throbbing, pulsing with divine energy and divine meaning.

From Buddhism we have the note of "renunciation," the stripping from oneself of "desire" through a self-purifying process of discipline.

From Zoroastrianism we have the note of conflict and victory, the ultimate triumph of "the good principle" in the universe over "the evil principle" that is battling against it, a battle that calls for the co-operation of every child with God if the great end is to be achieved.

From Confucianism we have the note of order. Let

man in all his various relations reproduce the beautiful order that he sees in external nature, in the symmetry and harmony of the solar system.

And then there comes to us from Judaism the great note of righteousness, which sounds all through the Old Testament from beginning to end.

From Mohammedanism we have the note of submission, the absolute need of every human soul submitting to the authority and omnipotence of the Power that is over all, — the heavenly Sultan, " Allah."

But now there is one note wanting to make the symphony complete. Christianity contributes that note, and it is the note of love. Not that the doctrine of love is absent from these other religions, — it is not; but the spiritual genius of Jesus and the particular circumstances under which Christianity came into the world, were such as to give a special interpretation and a particular emphasis to the doctrine of love that it had never received before.

Or, we may change Herder's figure and compare the seven great existing religions to the seven separate colors of the prism, which when blended produce a ray of pure white light. So the blending of the separate colors of the religious prism will produce a pure white ray of universal religion. For the shining of that ray the world still waits. It will not come by any mechanical process. No religious eclecticism, no literary quilt-work, no patching together bits of Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Confucianism, Judaism and Christianity will give us any real spiritual, universal religion. That can only come slowly, gradually, spontaneously by an organic, evolutionary process, — each one of the great extant religions dying a *sectarian* death in order that it may survive in *spiritual* substance.

Just as fast as men and women everywhere come to

feel that spiritual freedom means more than slavish adherence to any tradition or creed, just as fast as men and women everywhere come to care more for the victory of truth than they do for the triumph of their sect, just so fast will the world hasten the advent of that universal religion that shall lift them above all differences of caste, color, creed and race, into that sublime religious fellowship which has been the dream of every age and of every race.

XXI

RELIGION IN EDUCATION[1]

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MODERN education is often said to be "godless." The minds of the young, we are told, are instructed as to every conceivable subject except the one highest and most important — God. In former times, all study led up to knowledge of the divine; now, secular subjects alone make up the curriculum. The harmful effects of this deficiency are also pointed out: the almost total ignorance of the Bible; the diminishing number of students for the ministry; the unsettled condition of faith; a general attitude of indifference and skepticism. In somewhat sensational language, but representing the view of many sincere people, modern education is charged with "blasting at the rock of ages."

We would be blind, indeed, were we to shut our eyes to the many signs about us of neglected religious education, and to the many changes in former belief and viewpoint which are due to recent study. Nevertheless, to see only these things is to be equally blind, and to speak of the tendency of modern education as though it were materialistic, unspiritual and opposed to religion is at the least to be inaccurate. If we would find hopeful indications for the future of religion, there is no place where they can be found with more certainty than in our colleges and universities. But when we search for the

[1] A sermon preached in St. Paul's Chapel, Columbia University, October 10, 1909, in a series on Christianity and the Modern World.

witness to spiritual progress we must be able to look beneath appearances. Even when Jesus "went about doing good," the people complained that there was no sign of the coming of the Kingdom. But He told them, "The Kingdom of Heaven cometh not with observation, for lo, it is within you." Here we must look for it to-day — in the new hopes, the struggling aspirations and the larger purposes of men. A time of change, like the present, always appears outwardly to be one of dissolution, as in springtime the melting snows uncover bare patches and even the rocks are said to crumble; but beneath is the swelling power of awakened life, which soon will bring the summer harvest.

Modern education may be said to forge a huge shaft sharpened to a point. Viewed from the end, all education focuses in a single aim; viewed from the side, we must stand in different positions in order to see its several surfaces. One wide surface is that which faces toward the past. As we scan this side we view the immense treasures which the bygone centuries have accumulated for us. We are made to realize the extent of our indebtedness to men of former ages, and as we behold, our hearts warm with gratitude and with desire to use aright the legacy bequeathed to our care. The ability to see molded into familiar objects the rich ore mined from the deposits of the past belongs to the training of an educated man. The uneducated man sees only the familiar objects. He

> "Breathes cheaply in the common air,
> Thoughts great hearts once broke for."

Privileged though he is in a thousand ways, he "knows not the rock from which he was hewn, the pit from which he was digged." Says Mr. Brierley in one of his essays, "The universe, with all its wealth of being, is

around the oyster just as much as around you and me. The difference between us is that the oyster cannot digest the universe as we can." Education is to strengthen our powers of spiritual digestion so that we can grow on the food freely set before us. It gives culture which, in Matthew Arnold's well-known definition, is "the acquainting of ourselves with the best that has been known and said in the world and thus with the history of the human spirit."

But to be uneducated in this sense is more serious than to be uncultured. Not to know what the past has committed to us results sooner or later in superficiality of judgment, recklessness of action, and a betrayal for selfish gratification of what is ours only in trust. Long ago the prophet-statesman, Isaiah, saw this danger for the people of his time: "Hear, O Heavens and give ear, O Earth, for Jehovah hath spoken. . . . The ox knoweth his owner and the ass his master's crib, but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider." Heedlessness of their own past reduced them to a level lower than that of the brute and wrecked their progress. It is always true, as Mr. G. Lowe Dickinson says, that "a sign of a step forward is a look backward." Nor until the son knows the honor of his father's house can he be entrusted with his father's wealth.

As we look at education from this side, we see at once that religion must be included. No matter what one's personal attitude may be, it is beyond question that we owe to religion many of the treasures which our race has acquired and passed on to us. The Bible alone is an inherited fortune. Its truths, like radium, have "the priceless property of an inexhaustible energy." They are found in the lives of heroic men who struggled and sacrificed for justice and right. The messages preached by these men from God mark great epochs of social

advance. The principles they proclaimed still endure as the binding fiber interwoven into the myriad forms of modern society. The moral and spiritual appeal of the Bible touches so profoundly the heart of human nature that in all ages it penetrates beneath the divisions of race, color and creed.

It is a very encouraging fact that Bible study is rapidly increasing to-day in all our schools and colleges. This is especially promising because the study is thorough and discriminating. For a long time the influence of the Bible was limited because it was read without a proper sense of proportion. No heed was taken of the principle of growth and progress with the result — to borrow an illustration from another — the figures appeared as they do on a Chinese picture, "the people looked taller than the house from which they came." Now, once again, the followers of the Master walk with Him to Emmaus. They see that much that was said by "the men of old" has been taken up by the larger revelation in Jesus Christ, and as one-time perplexities disappear in the light of His life, the hearts of the disciples burn within them with the new message to the world. Educators are welcoming a study of the Bible which aims only to find its truth, and we may confidently rely on the attractive power of its truth to draw men to God.

To return again to our figure of education as a broad shaft sharpened to a point, another surface which we view from the side is that of efficiency. Modern education emphasizes as never before the power of achievement. Not, what does a man know? but, what can he do? is the question we ask, and by which we test the worth of his education.[1] The old method of education which made of a man but little more than a filing-cabinet has now

[1] Cf. "A Talk on Teaching," by Professor Arthur A. Noyes. *Science*, Nov. 13th, 1908.

completely disappeared. Our aim is to make of him a dynamo. Bacon's maxim, "Knowledge is power," needs correction. Knowledge is fuel for power and the more of it the better, but to get its driving energy we must have fire.

The fire may be neglected. Too often we find the man who knows how to fight battles so long as he stays at home; who can tell you what ails politics yet plays bridge on the night of registration; who can moralize on business and yet never inquires how his dividends are earned so long as they are regular; who can pick out the strong and weak points in a sermon, but never thinks of applying its truth.[1] Such men carry little weight. They have brought discredit rather than fame to the cause of education. They are powerless because, as Phillips Brooks once said, "they fail to make the connection between the engine and the boiler."

But if education is more than mere knowledge, if it is power to do, how should this power be named, and where is it to come from? I reply, this power to do is essentially a moral power. It is the personal response to the facts perceived. It is the feeling of responsibility, of desire, of willingness to pay the cost of doing and to take the risk, of an impelling purpose for which the facts must be mastered and employed. I know there are many men, especially those scientifically trained, who dislike the word feeling or emotion. But not to see its presence in the power to do is prejudice. Tyndall speaks of a "strong and resolute enthusiasm in which science finds an ally." "Without moral force," he says, "to whip it [the intellect] into action, the achievements of the intellect would be poor indeed." [2]

[1] Cf. "Social Aspects of Moral Education," by Charles De Garmo, Third Year Book, National Herbart Society, p. 44.

[2] Cited by President Butler in "The Meaning of Education" (New York, 1901), p. 62.

Every teacher knows the practical difficulty of getting students to use their energies. President Lowell of Harvard speaks of this as the hardest task he sees. Common experience is summed up by a humorous philosopher in the paraphrase, "You may lead a boy to the door of the college but you can't make him think." Why not make use of the strongest stimulator of moral energy the world has ever known? Religion is a producer of moral power; practically everything else is a consumer. It opens directly the "vital dynamics of moral being." There need be here no question of creed or dogmas; simply, apply the power religion can give. "Brains," we are told, "to be any good must have blood in them;" otherwise they are fit for a jar on a museum shelf. And for the brains to have blood the heart must work. "Every man who will not have softening of the heart," says Mr. Chesterton, "must at last have softening of the brain." More must be done in education to stir the heart. Feelings must not be left to shift for themselves. Let the deep feelings of reverence and worship, which only man can feel, be awakened and directed; let not only the romance but also the heroism of devotion to spiritual things be felt; let the exaltation, yet the naturalness of God's nearness, be a daily experience; and there will be liberated a stronger moral force for intellectual achievement and for the performance of duty everywhere.

But education has not finished its work even when it gives culture and efficiency. These are but means to something else. The broad shaft of education, we remember, focuses in a sharp point. That point is the answer which education gives to the question, What is life for? Supposing one has wide knowledge and thoroughly trained ability for his particular work or profession, for what end shall he use his training and his life? This sounds like a big question and so it is.

But every one must answer it and does answer it somehow, until he ceases to live. Education is to make young men and women look at life deliberately and intelligently so that they are not creatures of chance and impulse, but their own masters. It shows them the highest life-purpose and bids them devote their all to it. Education in its fullest sense is to arouse and develop in each individual an enlightened and unreserved devotion to the ideal of service for the public good. Unless that ideal is made supreme, education has not done what it should. We may adapt the saying of Phillips Brooks and assert: "No man has come to true education who has not felt in some degree that his life belongs to his race, and that what God has given him, He has given him for mankind."

Commonplace as is this word service, its bearing upon education is of transforming effect. It has changed the center of education as completely as the discovery of Copernicus changed the center of the solar system. Individual success is not the object of education, nor is "the harmonious development of all one's powers." The central sun around which all revolves is the ideal of social service. In its light every subject is to be studied. "The ultimate significance of lake, river, mountain and plain," says Professor Dewey, "is not physical but social; it is the part which it plays in modifying and functioning human relationships."[1] This principle applies in the study of history, mathematics, physics and all the rest.

Devotion to this ideal of service must be developed not only by study but also by practice. Too often the student will listen to the presentation of the ideal with interest and warmth, but he will think of a future

[1] "Ethical Principles Underlying Education." Third Year Book, National Herbart Society, page 20.

occasion, "when he is out in life" as the time when he will follow it. But for one to fancy that he is rightly preparing for life while at the same time he neglects to do his full share of service in his community, is, to quote Professor Dewey again, "like imagining you can learn to swim without going near the water." [1]

The complex conditions in which we live must also be understood and controlled so that they give support to the ideal of service. As conditions are to-day in the world they are about as hard for the one who would live the life of service as a despotic monarchy is for a lover of liberty. People smile at Commmencement when the senior speaks of ideals, not because they are false, not because he is insincere, but because the contrast between them and the actual conditions is so great. What accounts for that conspicuous rift in American manhood, the difference between private standards and business standards? Why is the same man often generous, considerate, open-hearted to his neighbors at home, yet hard, even ruthless, to his neighbors in business? His reply is, the conditions make him so; "business is business." Can the conditions be changed so that the nobler impulses have a chance?

With this ideal of service in all its aspects as the supreme end of education, the connection with religion is once again evident. Service to one's fellow-men is the answer of Christianity to the question, What is life for? It says that this life of service is none other than the divine life, the expression of God's spirit from within the heart of man. Through service men become the sons of God because they thus do His will. To Christ, the transformed society in which the spirit of service should control all relations and conditions was the Kinglom of Heaven, the reign of God upon earth. His purpose was

[1] Ibid., p. 13.

to awaken in men that sense of God's presence which expresses itself in service to the community.

If, then, we discern this close connection between education and religion, if they share an inherited culture, if they combine to produce efficiency, if they are deeply one in life-purpose, there remains for us to ask, why are they apart? If they should be joined together, what keeps them asunder? All agree that theoretically they should be one; and all agree that practically they are not. The most important question is, therefore, how can the separation be overcome? How can religion and education work together in harmony and freedom? How can the ideal be made the fact?

To this I reply: we must begin by a frank recognition of what education is doing for religion and then build upon that. When the highest aim is service, education cannot be materialistic, unspiritual or "godless," even though no doctrines of religion are taught. As a matter of fact, it is doing more the work of Christ than at any previous time in its history. We are prone to overlook a direction Jesus once gave to His disciples on an occasion which bears a resemblance to the present. They come to Him and say that they saw one doing His work and they forbade the man "because he followed not with us." But Jesus says, "Forbid him not, for there is no man that shall do a mighty work in my name and be able quickly to speak evil of me. For he who is not against us is for us." St. Paul won the world of his day, the world of Greek and Roman culture, by a sympathetic understanding of the highest he found in men. His message on Mars Hill to the assembled philosophers was, "Ye men of Athens, in all things I perceive that ye are very religious. . . . Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship Him declare I unto you."

We must win our world, this immense new world

infinitely spread out in time and space by the discoveries of science, transformed in appearance by human industry and commerce — we can conquer it only by a like sympathetic interpretation of the highest and noblest we find in men to-day. The men of science are at heart "very religious." "The passion for truth is nothing less than a dim and partially developed act of worship toward the God of Truth." We must honor and trust these men as ministers of His Word, for His Word is truth. We must not stone the prophets who rise among them and leave it to later generations to decorate their tombs. And if the leading Spirit of Truth which has come to their hearts from God requires us to see the old faith in a brighter light, let us not hide our face from the light and fear that the faith is lost. For,

> "I say that man was made to grow, not stop;
> That help he needed once, and needs no more,
> Having grown but an inch by, is withdrawn:
> For he hath new needs and new helps to these.
> This imports solely man should mount on each
> New height in view: the help whereby he mounts,
> The ladder rung his foot has left, may fall,
> Since all things suffer change save God the Truth.
> Man apprehends Him newly at each stage
> Whereat earth's ladder drops, its service done;
> And nothing shall prove twice what once was proved."

When we thus sympathetically trust our educators and men of science and work with them more heartily for the Christ-ideal of service, the gain to religion will be incalculable. Religion will be strengthened where now it is weakest. For throughout the land it is true, as has been said: "Religion is alive in the heart and will, but it waits the intellectual form such as shall give it new ascendancy over the world." [1] The striking figure has

[1] Dr. George A. Gordon, Edinburgh Address, July, 1908.

been used of religion as "once the pillar of cloud which went before the human race in its great march through history, showing it the way. Now, it is fast assuming the rôle of the ambulance which follows in the rear and picks up the exhausted and wounded. This, too, is a great work, but it is not sufficient." For religion to do its complete work, both of leading the forward march and protecting the rear, its commands must be spoken in a voice men will hear. It must inspire the confidence and devotion of the general who has thought his plan of battle through and who is already master of the field. As says Professor Peabody: "Not less of religious fervor and not less of practical activity are demanded of the representatives of religion, but a new accession of intellectual power, the capacity to translate the message of the timeless into the dialect of the present age."[1] We turn for the rearing of men of such power to our colleges and universities, and they, I repeat, are ready to respond if we trust them freely and work with them for the highest.

To sum up: From whatever side the mighty shaft forged by education is viewed, as well as when we follow its lines to the point, we see religion likewise. As we are true to the trust committed to us by the past, as we strive for greater power of achievement, as we devote ourselves to the ideal of service, education and religion become wrought together as bars of iron are forged by fire. To weld them as one for their common work, we must freely recognize the worth of the scientific spirit of education and we must be able to show the full religious significance of education's highest ideals. Religion comes with power when it comes with revelation. It must reveal the deepest in God to the deepest in man. And the

[1] "The Call to Theology," Harvard Theological Review, January, 1908.

revelation which will win the world to-day is the new utterance of the revelation which won it of old, "If any man keep the commandment of God and loveth his brother, God abideth in him and he hath passed from darkness into light."

XXII

THE RELIGION OF THE FUTURE

By J. Herman Randall, D.D.

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Two facts impress the student of comparative religions, most profoundly; first, the real sympathy of all religions, and second, that religion, like everything else in this universe, is subject to the law of evolution. No one who has followed such a series of lectures as this, can have failed to gain a deeper consciousness of the sympathy of all religions. We have come to feel more clearly than ever before that beneath all names and phrases and doctrines there are the same great underlying impulses, the same profound realities, the same eternal aspirations. It is not only true that everywhere and at all times, God has been seeking man. It is just as true, that everywhere and at all times, man, according to his light, has been seeking God. And under varying names and through different doctrinal paths, it has been the same God, the one and only true God, whom man has been always seeking.

We are also clearly convinced that religion, like everything else in the world, is subject to the law of change and growth. Beginning with the earliest religions of primitive men, we can trace to-day the steady development out of crude and superstitious notions toward a more ethical and spiritual conception of religion. The progress may seem very slow at times, but it is surely there. This is true not only of man's notions of religion but also of the organizations which have grown up about his religious

ideas. So that it has become axiomatic to the student of religion, that while *religions* come and go, *religion* persists; that is, while the thought-form or the theology, the ecclesiastical organization or the church, the rites and ceremonies or the ritual are constantly subject to change, sometimes passing away never to return again, and again disappearing only to manifest themselves in new or higher forms, — that while in this sense, *religions* may be said to die, in a deeper sense, the underlying essence of *religion,* the great primary impulse that leads man to seek to relate himself in some intelligible way with the universe in which he lives, — this is the eternally persistent fact. As Sabatier most truly puts it, "Man is incurably religious." So that if it were possible to destroy at one fell swoop all the religions that exist in the world to-day, it would be but the briefest space of time before we should find religion once again flourishing, either under old forms or new, for the religious impulse is as deep as man's life itself, and must ever find outward expression.

The attempt to forecast in any sense the future of religion is a presumptuous task, and it is usually a thankless one. President Eliot of Harvard essayed it recently, with what result we all know. There were some who agreed with his forecast, and many more who vehemently disagreed. The only way in which it is possible for one to speak with even the slightest degree of authority upon so vast a subject as "The Future of Religion" is to carefully study the evolution of religion as we see it taking place in the centuries that are past, and then to observe as impartially as possible the conditions of religious thought and life of to-day, and at last, in view of all these past and present tendencies, to humbly make the attempt to point out the lines along which religious development will probably move in the years yet to come. This is all I

am expected to do, and all that I shall attempt in this lecture. In view of what religion has gradually come to be, and in the presence of religious conditions to-day, what can we justly say will be the general movement of religious development in the years to come?

As we study its general trend, we find that there have been three great cycles in the religious evolution of the past; first, "nature religion," secondly, "political religion," and thirdly, what Dr. Crapsey has called, "the religion of the human ideal and the social order."

In prehistoric times only the first of these was known. Nature religion presided over the origins of civilization. The earth and the sky combined to give man his earliest faith, and among primitive men we find everywhere the childlike tendency to personify the forces of nature. Coming into first-hand contact with the phenomena of the universe in which he found himself, man felt that these inexplicable powers, mightier than he, were nothing less than personal forces to be regarded as deities; and so there grew up his crude, superstitious and selfish worship of these nature gods. Most naturally also, primitive man ascribes to his deities very much the same virtues and vices that he finds in himself; the first gods have like passions with man. In this first cycle of religion we find that everywhere, differing not in essentials but only in outward forms, man's religion grows out of his crude and ignorant attempt to interpret the universe about him, and to come into friendly relations with the powers he sees revealed. Man's first gods are nature gods.

With the merging of the prehistoric into the historic period we find tremendous changes taking place in every phase of man's life. The old simple life of the wandering nomad gives place now to the life of the community, and that at length to the life of the city; centers of population begin to thrive and grow, and gradually the prim-

itive nature worship of man resolves itself into a political religion. His nature gods become first tribal, then urban, then national. Jehovah, Zeus and Jupiter, were now born out of the order of the earlier nature deities, into a political order. Jerusalem was the city of Jehovah. Athens built the Parthenon to the glory of the goddess, Athena. Rome clustered round the temple of Jupiter of the Capitol.

In the ancient historic world the gods were heads of the state; they went out, as Lords of Hosts, before the armies of their cities to battle, and were victorious or vanquished according to the fortunes of war. Men prayed to their gods for victory over their enemies, and in critical moments made vows to sacrifice sons and daughters, if the gods would only deliver them from their peril.

Political religion found expression still later in other forms. No one can read the history of the Christian church during the Middle Ages without becoming conscious of the very large part that politics played in the religious organization of those centuries. Even to-day, while the political gods are slowly disappearing from the horizon, still it is true that wherever sectarianism exists or theological definitions are given the first place, there the political gods still rule. So long as men think chiefly about their particular "system" of religion, instead of about religion, so long will religion remain political rather than ethical or spiritual.

The third cycle of religion, that of the human ideal and of the social order, was inaugurated with the coming of Jesus Christ into the world, for Jesus taught, more clearly than any other religious teacher, that the greatest thing in all the world is *man himself;* that man does not exist for the sake of the church or for the sake of the theology or for the sake of the state, but that church and state, theology and ritual — all exist for the sake of man;

and because this is true, therefore the supreme ideal is the perfection of man. "Ye shall be perfect," says Jesus Christ, "even as your Father who is in heaven is perfect."

No one has ever set before humanity a loftier or nobler ideal than did Jesus Christ. I will not take the time to remind you of the familiar passages in which this ideal is described. Along with His great idea of the perfectibility of individual human life there goes His thought of the perfect social order under His favorite phrase, "The Kingdom of God." The two cannot be separated. As He lays the emphasis first on the perfection of the individual, and then on the Kingdom of God, established not in some distant world but here on this earth, Jesus teaches that the perfect social order is made possible by the perfected individual, and, on the other hand, the perfection of the individual is alone to be made possible through the gradual perfection of the social order.

Jesus inaugurated this third religious cycle, and yet, as history reveals, it was but a little while, scarcely two centuries, before the lofty ethical and spiritual ideals of Jesus became over-clouded from contact with the surrounding environment. Paganism, in many of its forms and in some measure, in its actual essence, crept into the new Christian organization, and from that time until to-day organized Christianity has been more or less dominated not by the God of the human ideal and of the perfect social order, but by the gods of theology or ecclesiasticism.

For the sake of greater clearness, we may describe the evolution of Religion in still simpler terms. In human history Religion has exhibited three phases or, in point of time, has passed through three stages; first, the ritualistic; second, the theological; and third, the stage into which it is just now passing, the ideals for which were first voiced most clearly by Jesus 1900 years ago but for

which the world was not ready then — the ethical and the spiritual stage. Primitive man builds his altar, brings his gift or his victim and makes his sacrifice. The whole purpose of his religion is to propitiate the deity by the gifts he brings, to ward off his anger or win his favor and induce him to perform some miracle or grant some boon in his behalf. Thus the ritual, the priest and the sacrifice represent the central facts in the first stage of religion. There is no clearly defined theology, no lofty moral and spiritual conception. Man is as yet only an undeveloped child in his intellectual and moral life.

As religion passes into its second or theological stage, the ritual still persists, but is gradually subordinated to the intellectual side of religion, and theologies in all degrees of crudity, begin to appear. With increasing interest men take up the work of creed building, and the age of theological controversy, involving bitter discussions, heresy trials, persecutions and martyrdoms for "the truth's sake," is ushered in. The chief emphasis is laid upon the idea of authority in religion and authority is construed solely in external terms. For centuries in Christendom, religious authority was vested in the church; after the Reformation, the Protestant branch of Christianity placed its authority in an infallible Bible. And some *creed,* which men must believe, is always the result. In one instance it is dictated by the church; in the other it is formulated from the Scriptures. But theology is made the final test of one's religion, by both Roman Catholics and Protestants alike. Until the moral sentiment of man outgrew the old harsh and cruel spirit inherited from the past, men were able to exact from the disbeliever or non-conformist the full penalty for disobeying the authority of the church or the Bible. In the earlier age, religious persecution took on the form of physical torture and oftentimes death. Later when it was

no longer able to attack the physical man it took on a no less fiendish form, in socially and religiously ostracising men and women who could not honestly conform to the authority of the church or creed. In modern times, the same spirit that formerly burned men for heresy, is now obliged to be content with branding them. This is always the root-evil of religion in its theological stage of development.

To-day, unless all signs mislead, we are entering into a new appreciation of the truth that Jesus proclaimed, and the world now seems ready at last to enter upon the third stage of religious development, in which the ritual may still continue, at least in some forms of religion, when there will still be a place for the intellectual side of religion, or for theology, but when both ritual and theology will be subordinated to something else, and that something else is *life,* the life that Jesus taught was inbreathed in every man by God, which every individual is capable of expressing in just the degree that his moral and spiritual consciousness is developed — the spiritual life which it is the sole end of religion to foster and evolve. Churches, creeds and rituals are but means to that great end, and do not exist for their own sakes. Religion may use them all, but religion is independent of them all, simply because religion is *life.*

This second classification of the stage of religious development, while the terms differ, coincides with the three cycles previously described. Religion is first, nature-worship or ritualistic; second, political or theological; third, a religion of humanity, or an ethical and spiritual religion.

From this brief survey of the evolution of religion, it is certain to my mind that religious development to-day is unmistakably moving out along the lines suggested by this last stage. The religion of the future will be more

and more a religion of humanity, and will find expression increasingly in terms that are ethical and spiritual, rather than eccesiastical or theological. We are fast outgrowing the old dogmatic theologies and the former ecclesiastical types of religion. Men are reaching out eagerly to-day for a religion that shall dare to voice itself in terms that are ethical and spiritual, whose end shall be the all-around service of humanity. It is not that men worship God any less than formerly; they worship Him in a different place. For centuries man has worshiped the God who sat on a throne above the heavens. To-day we have come to believe that God's true throne is not outside but within humanity. So that the religion of humanity, as we become more familiar with the phrase, does not mean a religion in which God is ruled out; it rather means a religion that places God within the life of humanity instead of on some distant throne beyond the stars, and that therefore, the only true worship of God is genuine disinterested service for humanity. We are at last coming to believe that Jesus was right when He treated all men as if they were children of God, when He discerned the heart of goodness in all men, even those whom externally we call evil; when He saw behind and beneath the surface imperfections and sins of men, a better life though latent and many times dormant, yet again and again struggling for fuller expression. It was because Jesus knew humanity and understood the human heart, and believed in the best that is in human nature, that He expressed such profound confidence and hope for the ultimate perfection of men and women and for the perfectibility of human society. We have not yet reached His lofty plane of vision but we are moving in that direction.

The need of the age, and let me say the deep heart-hunger of men to-day is not for less of religious truth,

the *real truth* that lies behind all the old creeds and dogmas; it is rather for the breaking of the dead shells and letting out the imprisoned truth into our thought and life to-day. The prophet most needed is the one who can pierce through the incrustations of the centuries and give to men in vital terms the eternal truth of all the ages.

Can we speak a little more specifically as to the *theology* of the religion of the future? If the old theology is gone or fast going, what is to take its place? Just as long as man thinks at all he must think about religion. It is not merely a question of living; the thoughtful person who lives any kind of a life must have some sort of a philosophy of life. Inevitably then a person who in the future shall strive to live the ethical and spiritual life, if he thinks at all, must have some kind of a theology to explain or to justify his life. So if these old theologies of the past are going, what will be the thought form for the religion of the future?

Here again because of the limits of time we can only speak in most general terms. The constant tendency, in man's intellectual conception of religion, discernible even from the beginning, tremendously accelerated by the disclosures of this modern age, is a tendency to translate what is partial and limited and unethical and mechanical in theology, into terms that are universal, necessary, natural and spiritual. It must be along that line that theology is to make its progress in the future. This will be true not alone of Christianity, but of all other forms of living religion. If we were to study, in a comparative way, the theologies of the various religions of the world, we would find that the earliest theologies in each instance are the most limited, most partial, most unethical, most mechanical. As we follow their development down through the centuries, we find the movement

more and more in the direction of the universal, the necessary, the natural, the ethical, the spiritual in the statement of religious truth. Every revision of any creed means a partial elimination of what is limited and unethical, and a step nearer to what is universal and spiritual in religion.

The theologies of to-day are vastly better in these respects than the theologies of yesterday; and the theologies of to-morrow will be a vast improvement on those of to-day. Let us take, for example, man's thought of God. In every religion the earliest thought of God is always of a being who is limited. He is a tribal deity or a God of the nation, or a God of the elect, or the Father only of Christians. The Hebrew Jehovah was a limited deity; He was the God of the Jews, and His thought and concern was only for the Jews. It is only the later Hebrew Prophets who begin to catch glimpses of the God of all the earth, of the Gentiles as well as of the Jews. In these same later prophets we find the suggestion at least of the Fatherhood of God, that is enunciated in greatest clearness in the teachings of Jesus. And Paul gives us the lofty conception of God as the Universal Spirit "in whom we all live and move and have our being." What is true of the Hebrew is true of all other religions in their notions of God.

The same movement can be traced in the morality of religious conceptions; many of the earliest ideas of God in every religion are unethical, if not absolutely immoral. The first gods possessed all man's vices as well as his virtues. There are conceptions of Jehovah in the Old Testament that we would not teach to our children for anything in the world. They simply reflect the spirit of a barbarous age, steeped in cruelty. We do not believe them for a moment. We no longer accept as true the statement, simply because it is in the Bible, that Jehovah

commanded the Israelites to go forth and slay at the point of the sword men, women, and helpless children. There is much in the early history of the Old Testament that reflects merely the savagery, the cruelty, the barbarity of the age that gave this literature birth. And we are not bound to believe in any such God as is there pictured.

But we need not regard the earlier peoples, as alone guilty in this respect. In much of our later Christian theology we have preached and taught notions of God which were absolutely unethical, directly contrary to man's deepest and best moral thought. We have taught for centuries doctrines of sin, of the atonement, and of the future punishment of the wicked, in which the fundamental principles of ethics were violated. We have preached that God did do and could do things which we would instantly condemn in human beings. The new thought of God to-day is moving away from that which is partial and limited and mechanical to that which is universal and ethical and spiritual, and it will be increasingly so in the future.

> "Our little systems have their day;
> They have their day and cease to be;
> They are but broken lights of Thee,
> And Thou, O Lord, are more than they."

So with man's thought about Jesus Christ. For centuries theological Christianity has taught that Jesus was "the only son of God." The line was drawn clear and distinct between Jesus and all the rest of humanity, despite the fact that the Bible declared in the very first chapter of Genesis, that man was made in God's image; notwithstanding the splendid assertions of Jesus that God is our Father and that we are His children; and of Paul, that we are all God's offspring. The real humanity of Jesus has been overclouded by His divinity, and to many He has become, therefore, an unreal and fictitious being.

The movement of our thought of Jesus Christ in the future will be in the direction, not of disparaging Him, nor in any sense of lowering His divinity, but rather of a recognition of the divine Spirit indwelling in all men, and hence of the divineness of human life. We shall see more clearly that Jesus stands at a particular point in history as the norm for humanity, as the fullest revelation of the divine in human life; that all great and true religious teachers have possessed God's spirit in a measure, and that it is possible for every one, as Jesus taught, to become like Him, to live out the divine life fully and completely and symmetrically. In other words, as the partial and mechanical gives way to the universal and spiritual in our thought of Jesus, we shall see that He differs not in kind from other men, but only in degree.

If there were time we might point out the same tendency as respects all the doctrines of religion. As our knowledge of the Universe, of life, and especially of ourselves grows from more to more, we must inevitably translate whatever has been limited, partial, mechanical and unethical in our theology into universal, necessary, natural, ethical and spiritual terms.

Is it possible to forecast the future of the *organization* of religion? What is to be the future of the church, can it survive in its present forms? As we study the past and confront present conditions, there are to my mind two unmistakable tendencies in the outward form that religion is to take, — one toward the ecclesiastical and ritualistic, and the other toward what I may call the simple and the free form of organization and worship. Few intelligent people believe that sectarianism can long survive. In fact the death knell of sectarianism has been already sounded. It is not impossible that in the life-time of this generation we shall see many of these one hundred and sixty odd different Protestant sects that

exist to-day either disappearing entirely or else combining and uniting their forces into one. Men and women in every denomination are awakening to see the folly, the absurdity, the wastefulness and, still more, the absolute wickedness of the attempt to perpetuate these different denominational systems in a day and generation like ours that has ruled out sectarianism everywhere else in life, and is demanding more and more of unity and co-operation. The great duty of the hour, which we neglect at our peril, is the minimizing of differences and the magnifying of the common points of agreement.

I do not mean that there will be only two great churches; there will doubtless be different organizations but the spirit of sectarianism is to die not only out of Christianity but out of all religions, and there will be a glorious unifying of the various sects, now entirely separated.

These two main tendencies I see, — the tendency toward some ritualistic form of worship, and the tendency toward the free and simple form. Or, to put it still more concretely, the tendency toward the Episcopal form of service and the tendency toward what George Fox stood for in the early days of Quakerism, where every man was independent and stood alone before God. Whether men will be drawn in one direction or the other, is largely a question of temperament. There are people who prefer to have religion presented in a way that appeals not only to the spiritual or the intellectual but also to the esthetic sense. To these the ritualistic worship will appeal. And there are other people who do not care very much about the esthetic sense but who are tremendously interested in the spiritual or the intellectual or the ethical side of religion, and they will gather themselves together in these free and simple groups or organizations or churches.

To sum it all up briefly, the religion of the future in my

judgment will tend more and more toward the religion of Jesus Christ. But when I say that, I do not mean it will tend more and more toward Christianity as it is organized to-day. The thing most of us do not yet see is that the religion of Jesus, and Christianity, as a historic or organized system, are two very different things. Personally I do not believe that Christianity as we have known it in its creeds or rituals or ecclesiastical systems can possibly survive and become the universal world religion, for thus regarded, it is not in spirit or thought a universal religion. But the religion of Jesus, which, as some one has said, "has never yet been tried by the churches," is the religion toward which the tendencies and signs of the time all point.

Reducing the religion of Jesus to its simplest terms, we find it to consist of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, — terms that are absolutely universal and that will make their appeal to every nation of men the whole world round, just as fast as men become capable of grasping ethical and spiritual ideals. This religion of Jesus, with its consequent twofold duty of love to God and love to man, is the only religion destined to become the universal religion of the world, and constitutes in so far as we can see, the ultimate in Religion.

This is only another way of stating what was said at the outset, that we are at last entering upon the cycle of religious development that Jesus inaugurated, but for which the world was not then ready — the religion of the human ideal, and the perfection of the social order. We may not believe it. Many of us may think it means a retrograde movement in religion; many of us may be doing what we can to stem the tide moving in that direction, but I am confident for myself that the religion of the future will be the religion of Humanity, the religion that sees God not in some distant heaven but that finds Him

first of all in ourselves and then in every man and woman and little child, that will not be content to rest day or night until humanity everywhere is lifted up to its highest and best, that does not believe in social betterment simply as an end in itself, but rather because it sees clearly that only as we improve conditions socially, can the individual life reach its highest ideal.

The religion of the future then will be less theological, but profoundly more ethical and spiritual. It will care less about creeds and more about truth. It will be less complicated and much more free and simple. It will require vastly less in the way of ecclesiastical tests of men, and will demand only that men and women shall have in themselves the life of the spirit, which means the life of sympathy and love and brotherliness. It will not content itself with worshiping God within the four walls of any church or cathedral, but will find its truest temple wherever man is, and its greatest joy in striving to lift man up to his best, and to bring out in man the divinest by making his environment righteous and pure and true.

"What is the purport of the scheme toward which all time is gone?
What is the great aeonian goal? The joy of going on.
And are there any souls so strong, such feet with swiftness shod,
That they shall reach it, reach some bourne, the ultimate of God?
There is no bourne, no ultimate. The very farthest star
But rims a sea of other stars that stretches just as far.
There's no beginning and no end. As in the ages gone,
The greatest joy of joys shall be the joy of going on."

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